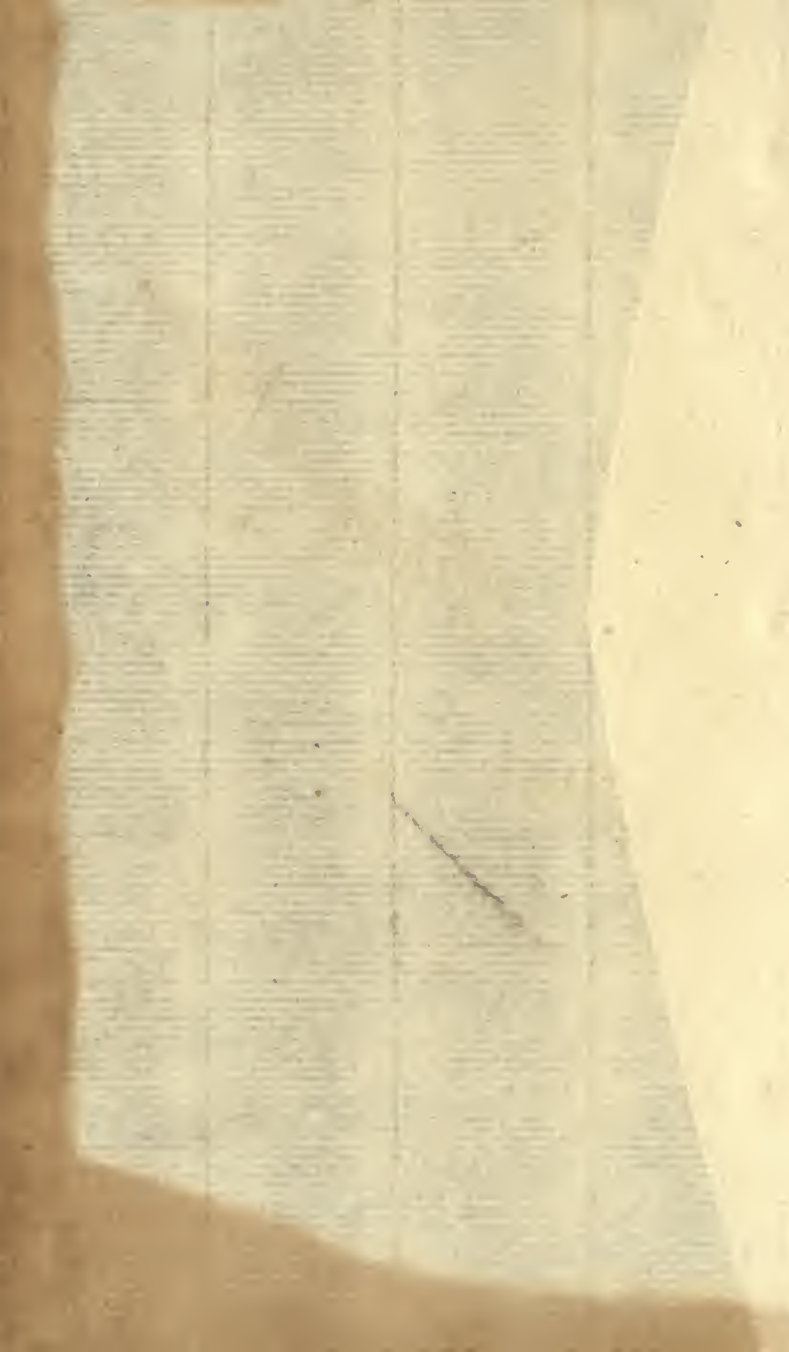




3 1761 04375 3771









REMARKS

ON THE  
HISTORY.

OF THE

AMERICAN

REPUBLIC.

BY

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

OF THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NEW-YORK: PUBLISHED BY  
J. B. ALLEN, 10 NASSAU ST.

21517 M 331

HISTORICAL

REMARKS  
ON  
ECCLESIASTICAL  
HISTORY.

Διὰ δυσφημίας ἢ εὐφημίας.

V O L. III.



L O N D O N,

Printed for C. DAVIS in *Holbourn*,  
R. MANBY on *Ludgate-hill*,  
J. WHISTON and B. WHITE in *Fleet-street*,  
and H. S. COX in *Pater-noster-row*.

MDCCLIV.

BR

143

J6

V.3





TO THE  
MOST REVEREND  
**THOMAS,**  
LORD ARCHBISHOP  
OF  
CANTERBURY.

My LORD,

**A**S the foregoing Volume  
had the advantage of  
appearing under the patro-  
nage of a Name so highly  
respected and esteemed, I  
a 2 beg

iv DEDICATION.

beg leave to present this also to your Grace, for whom alone it ever was intended.

The Church of Christ increasing in splendor, and decreasing in virtue; the origin and progress of superstition and spiritual tyranny; the unhappy controversies which signalized the fourth century; the Councils called to compose these disputes, and never answering the purposes for which they were designed; the character of the Ecclesiastical Historians who have transmitted to us the memory of these events; the  
Laws



## DEDICATION. v

Laws of the first Christian Emperor, which, like himself, had a mixture of good and bad; the accomplishment of the prophecies in the destruction of the Persecutors of Christianity; the state of the Jews ever since their rejection, and the hopes which Christians entertain that God in his appointed time will shew mercy and favour to his once chosen People; These are the subjects which I have endeavoured to examine and discuss, without adulation or dissimulation, with sober liberty and disinterested



vi DEDICATION.

terested inquiry, and which I offer to your Grace, with gratitude, respect, and affection, as to a most candid and impartial Judge; wishing, with the Public, that your health may be established, and that you may long continue an ornament and a blessing to the Church and State.

I am,

My LORD,

*Your GRACE'S most obliged,*

*and obedient humble Servant,*

JOHN JORTIN.



# CONTENTS.

	Page
<b>T</b> ransactions during the reign of Constantine <i>&amp; etc.</i> <i>Remarks on the Cross</i> <i>etc. which was seen by Con-</i> <i>stantine, and which seems to</i> <i>have been a Solar Halo</i>	I---6
<i>Licinius pretended to have been</i> <i>instructed and assisted by an</i> <i>Angel</i>	6
<i>Whether he was a Christian</i>	6, 7
<i>His Character</i>	274
The causes, origin and progress of the worship of Saints, Martyrs and Reliques, of Monkery, lying wonders, austerities, vows of virginity, pilgrimages, <i>etc.</i>	7---40
	<i>The</i>

	Page
<i>The Fathers were the encouragers of these surperstitions</i>	8, 9
<i>Eusebius not entirely excusable in this point.</i>	11--15
<i>The Consubstantialists ran much into these excesses</i>	17
<i>Christian Saints supplied the place and the offices of Pagan Deities</i>	10. 17, 18
<i>Monkish ignorance, austerities and fanaticism</i>	18---27
<i>The Monks were not all of them Saints</i>	27
<i>Athanasius. His account of them</i>	27
<i>Eusebius, Constantine, Jerom, Ambrose. Their high notions of virginity and celibacy</i>	30, 31. 40
<i>Monks may have been sometimes misrepresented and wronged</i>	31, 32
<i>Miracles, for what purposes they were wrought in those times</i>	32
<i>Whence the Devil came to be painted black</i>	20

# C O N T E N T S. ix

	Page
<i>Monks, imitators of Pagan Philosophers</i>	25
<i>Chelsea College. What it was designed for by James I</i>	29
<i>Monkish miracles preserved by tradition</i>	33
<i>Character of the Ægyptians and of their Monks</i>	34
<i>Valens an enemy to them</i>	34
<i>Made them serve public offices</i>	35
<i>How they came to be so numerous</i>	36
<i>Protected by the Clergy, and disliked by others</i>	37
<i>Paula and Eustochium pious pilgrims</i>	37, 38
<i>The Schism of the Donatists</i>	41
<i>An account of the Arian controversy</i>	42---117
<i>Alexander excommunicates Arius and others</i>	44 etc.
<i>Sozomen and Theodoret give a good character to some Arian Prelates</i>	45, 46
<i>Alexander uses weak arguments against the Arians</i>	47

	Page
<i>His notions very like those of the</i>	
<i>Semiarians</i>	47---49
<i>A supposed miracle in his favour</i>	49
<i>Jurieu. His notion that the Ar-</i>	
<i>ticles of Christian faith were</i>	
<i>not understood in the three first</i>	
<i>centuries</i>	50
<i>Philostorgius not favourable to</i>	
<i>Alexander</i>	50
<i>Constantine treats the Arian con-</i>	
<i>troversy as frivolous</i>	51, 52
<i>Valesius mistranslates the Empe-</i>	
<i>ror's Epistle</i>	51
<i>Nicene Council. Quarrels of these</i>	
<i>Fathers</i>	52
<i>General Councils not infallible</i>	53---72
<i>Character of the Councils of Con-</i>	
<i>stantinople and Ephesus</i>	58
<i>Eusebius against the <math>\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\tau\omicron\iota</math></i>	61
<i>Disputes about the meaning of</i>	
<i>that word</i>	61---64
<i>Eusebius his sense of it</i>	61
<i>Council of Antioch, their strange</i>	
<i>interpretation of it</i>	63
<i>Le Clerc's account of General</i>	
<i>Councils</i>	65
	Symeon



# C O N T E N T S. xi

	Page
<i>Symeon Stylites his notion of them</i>	71
<i>Summary account of the Arian</i>	
<i>controversy for 40 years</i>	72---81
<i>An Arian Creed</i>	75, 76
<i>Divisions amongst the Arians</i>	78
<i>Apollinaris his notion of the</i>	
<i>Λόγος</i>	81
<i>Pagans deride these controversies</i>	82
<i>Alexandrians, their scoffing tem-</i>	
<i>per</i>	83
<i>Erasmus, his judgment concern-</i>	
<i>ing the dispute</i>	85
<i>Semiarians</i>	88
<i>Coeternity of the Λόγος considered</i>	88---96
<i>Le Clerc, his notion concerning</i>	
<i>the controversy</i>	91
<i>Consubstantiality how understood</i>	
<i>by the Nicene Fathers</i>	96---99
<i>Scholastic and Cabbalistic notions</i>	
<i>concerning it</i>	99---102
<i>Abbadie, his indiscretion on this</i>	
<i>subject</i>	102
<i>Disputes about the word hypo-</i>	
<i>stasis</i>	103

xii      C O N T E N T S.

	Page
<i>State of Arianism after Constantine</i>	106
<i>The faults on both sides</i>	106
<i>Constantine variable in his conduct towards the contending parties</i>	109
<i>The Creed of Arius</i>	110
<i>The death of Arius, and the various opinions about it</i>	111, 112
<i>Supposed to have been obtained by the prayers of Alexander of Constant.</i>	112, 113
<i>Controversy concerning the Holy Ghost</i>	114
<i>The Creed of the Semiarians</i>	114, 115
<i>The Nicene Creed, as it stood originally</i>	116
<i>Institution of Christian holy days</i>	118
<i>An unreasonable Canon relating to marriage</i>	118
<i>Constantine assisted by pretended Angels</i>	118, 119
<i>Said to have had a divine revelation to build Constantinople</i>	120
<i>Appoints Chaplains for the army</i>	121
	<i>State</i>



# C O N T E N T S.

xiii

	Page
<i>State of literature in his reign</i>	122
<i>Builds many Churches, Palaces,</i>	
<i>etc.</i>	122
<i>His superstition</i>	122
<i>Is buried in a church</i>	123
<i>His clemency and character</i>	123, 124
<i>Works miracles after his death</i>	125
<i>Character of the fourth century</i>	126
<i>Conversion of some Indian na-</i>	
<i>tions</i>	126---128
<i>Wonderful conversion of the</i>	
<i>Iberi</i>	128---132
<i>History of Theophilus the Arian</i>	
<i>Missionary to the Homeritæ,</i>	
<i>and of his miracles</i>	133---138
<i>Spyridon and Agapetus, sup-</i>	
<i>posed to have been workers</i>	
<i>of miracles</i>	138
<i>The story of the discovery of the</i>	
<i>Cross</i>	139---153
<i>Du Pin, remarks on him and</i>	
<i>his Bibliothéque</i>	141
<i>Paulinus a bad witness for</i>	
<i>miracles</i>	145
<i>Paphnutius, an instance of his</i>	
b 3	<i>prudence</i>

	Page
<i>prudence concerning the married Clergy</i>	154---157
<i>Council of Illiberis. Its Canons about Usury, Virginity, and against the Jews</i>	157---159
<i>An account of the Ecclesiastical Historians, and of Valesius their Editor</i>	160---218
<i>Eusebius. His character, and notions concerning the Arian controversy, the nature of the Son and Holy Spirit, miracles, images, etc.</i>	160---197
<i>Some passages in his works corrected or explained</i>	ibid.
<i>Second Council of Nice establishes the worship of images</i>	194
<i>Socrates the Historian</i>	198---200
<i>Sozomen</i>	200, 201
<i>Theodoret</i>	201---212
<i>Monkish miracles</i>	203
<i>Theodoret's disputes with Cyril</i>	205
<i>Cyril's character</i>	142. 207
<i>Nestorian controversy</i>	207
<i>Evagrius</i>	212---214
	<i>Theodo-</i>

# C O N T E N T S. xv

	Page
<i>Theodorus Byzantius</i>	215
<i>Philostorgius</i>	215---218
Remarks on the laws of Con- stantine	218---246
<i>His laws in favour of slaves,</i> <i>poor people, prisoners, ma-</i> <i>trons, etc.</i>	219. 222. 228. 229, 230
<i>Against crucifixion etc.</i>	219
<i>Against gladiators</i>	220
<i>In favour of farmers</i>	220
<i>Against usury</i>	221
<i>Against rapes</i>	222
<i>Against divorces</i>	223
<i>In favour of the Clergy. Re-</i> <i>pealed afterwards by Julian</i>	223
<i>In favour of the Church</i>	224
<i>In favour of Bishops</i>	225, 226
<i>In favour of matrimony</i>	226
<i>Against making Eunuchs</i>	228
<i>Against Delators</i>	230
<i>Against bad Magistrates</i>	230
<i>Against adultery</i>	231
<i>In favour of celibacy</i>	231
<i>Against sacrificing</i>	233
b 4	<i>Against</i>

xvi CONTENTS,

	Page
<i>Against Egyptian superstitions and debaucheries, etc.</i>	233---236
<i>Against Magic</i>	236
<i>For the observation of the Lord's day</i>	236---238
<i>Against persecution</i>	239---241
<i>Against Heretics</i>	240---243
<i>For building of Churches</i>	241
<i>Against blasphemy</i>	241
<i>Against Paganism</i>	242
<i>Against Judaism</i>	243. 366---375
<i>The condition of natural child- ren</i>	226---228
<i>Miracles said to be wrought in Pagan temples</i>	229
<i>Herodotus explained</i>	235
<i>A form of prayer for the Sol- diers</i>	238
<i>Pagan superstition of Constan- tine</i>	244
<i>His severity</i>	245, 246
<i>The accomplishment of the prophecies in the destruction of persecuting Princes and Magistrates, etc.</i>	246---322
	<i>Herod</i>

# CONTENTS. xvii

	Page
<i>Herod the Great</i>	247
<i>Herod Antipas</i>	248
<i>Salome</i>	249
<i>Pontius Pilate</i>	250
<i>Caiaphas</i>	250
<i>Flaccus</i>	251
<i>Catullus</i>	252
<i>Caius</i>	253
<i>Herod Agrippa</i>	254
<i>Claudius Heminianus, etc.</i>	254
<i>Pheretimé</i>	255
<i>Ananias</i>	256
<i>Ananus</i>	256
<i>Nero</i>	257
<i>Domitian</i>	257
<i>Severus</i>	258
<i>Saturninus</i>	259
<i>Heliogabalus</i>	259
<i>Decius</i>	260
<i>Gallus</i>	260
<i>Valerian</i>	260
<i>Æmilian</i>	260
<i>Aurelian</i>	261
<i>Maximinus I,</i>	261
<i>Diocletian</i>	261, 264
	<i>Severus</i>



	Page
<i>Severus</i>	264
<i>Urbanus</i>	265
<i>Firmilianus</i>	266
<i>Maximianus Herculus</i>	267
<i>Maximianus Galerius</i>	267
<i>Maxentius</i>	268
<i>Maximinus</i>	269
<i>Pincentius, Culcianus, Theotec-</i> <i>nus, etc.</i>	273, 274
<i>Licinius</i>	274
<i>Julian</i>	274
<i>Count Julian, Felix, Elpidius</i>	277
<i>Hero, Theotecnus, Thalassius</i>	286, 287
<i>The Pagans of Heliopolis</i>	289
<i>Valens</i>	290
<i>Eugenius and Arbogastes</i>	290, 294
<i>Radagaisus</i>	294
<i>Hunneric</i>	297
<i>Modern persecutors</i>	299
<i>The Baron D'Oppede</i>	299
<i>John the Monk</i>	300
<i>Lewis XI.</i>	301
<i>Character of Metaphrasles</i>	249
<i>Christians how used by Trajan,</i>	
	<i>Titus</i>

# CONTENTS.

xix

Page

<i>Titus Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius</i>	257
<i>Alteration in the form of government made by Diocletian</i>	261---264
<i>Charity of the Christians</i>	269
<i>Theodosius I. miracles supposed to have been wrought in his favour</i>	290
<i>False miracles in the fifth Century</i>	295
<i>Quick succession of the Roman Emperors serviceable to Christianity</i>	302
<i>The cxth Psalm explained</i>	303---322
<i>The interpretation of Ruarus rejected</i>	319
<i>The condition of the Jews from the destruction of Jerusalem to this day</i>	322—447
<i>Of the Gypsies</i>	329
<i>T. Jackson, his account of the Jews, not impartial</i>	330
<i>The false Messiahs who have appeared since the resurrection of Christ</i>	330—356
<i>Barco-</i>	



	Page
<i>Barcohab</i>	331, 359
<i>Moses Cretensis</i>	331
<i>Dunaan</i>	332
<i>Julian</i>	333
<i>Mohammed</i>	333
<i>A Syrian Jew</i>	333
<i>A French Jew</i>	333
<i>A Persian Jew</i>	334
<i>A Spanish Jew</i>	334
<i>An African Jew</i>	334
<i>An Arabian Jew</i>	335
<i>A Jew who dwelt beyond Eu- phrates</i>	335
<i>A Persian Jew</i>	336
<i>David Almuffer, etc.</i>	336
<i>David Alroi</i>	336
<i>Ismael Sophus</i>	337
<i>Rabbi Lemlem</i>	337
<i>Pfefferkorn</i>	337
<i>Rabbi Solomo Malcho</i>	338
<i>An Indian Jew</i>	338
<i>One in the Low Countries</i>	338
<i>Sabatai Sevi</i>	338
<i>Nehemiah Cohen</i>	349
<i>Rabbi Mordecai</i>	353

State

# CONTENTS.

xxi

	Page
<i>State of the Jews under Titus</i>	357
<i>Domitian</i>	358
<i>Trajan</i>	358
<i>Adrian</i>	359
<i>Antoninus Pius</i>	360
<i>Marcus Aurelius</i>	361
<i>Severus</i>	361
<i>Constantine</i>	361
<i>Cruel decree of a Council of Toledo</i>	363
<i>Jews confuted by pretended miracles</i>	365—371
<i>Constantine's decrees against them</i>	366—375
<i>Their rebellion under Constan- tius</i>	376
<i>Laws made in their favour by Valentinian I. etc.</i>	376, 377
<i>Considerations on Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple</i>	377—398
<i>Tacitus his account of fire issu- ing from the earth</i>	382
<i>A remarkable fountain in Poland</i>	383
	Subter-

	Page
<i>Subterraneous fires</i>	385
<i>The fires which have accompanied Earthquakes</i>	385, 386
<i>Earthquakes in Palæstine</i>	387
<i>Story of Herod, and of Barsanuph the Monk</i>	396
<i>God usually manifested his presence by fire</i>	392—397
<i>Sufferings of the Jews, and lies invented concerning them</i>	399
<i>Pretended miracles to expose the Jews</i>	401, 412
<i>Ambrose defends the burning of a Synagogue</i>	402—408
<i>A Jew wonderfully healed</i>	408
<i>Symeon Stylites defends the seizing upon the Synagogues</i>	410
<i>Remarks on his miracles</i>	410—412
<i>The Confessors who spake when their tongues were cut out</i>	413
<i>Lying miracles in the Chronicon Saxonicum</i>	413
	<i>Agobard</i>

	Page
<i>Agobard his complaints against the Jews</i>	413
<i>Popes favourable to them</i>	415
<i>The Council of Basil, its decrees concerning them</i>	415—419
<i>Improbable account of the Jews assembling in the plain of Ageda</i>	419—421
<i>Conjectures concerning the calling of the Jews, and remarks on the difficulties which attend the conversion of that people, of the Mo- hammedans, and of the Pagans</i>	423—447
<i>Limborch, his method of dispu- ting with Orobius</i>	439
<i>Appendix</i>	451
<i>Remarks on the Præparatio Evangelica of Eusebius, and on some authors who are cited in it</i>	415—469
<i>Antient Oracles corrected and explained</i>	452—460
<i>Ezechiel Tragicus</i>	461
	<i>Africanus</i>

	Page
<i>Africanus</i>	462
<i>Plato supposed to have borrowed some things from Moses</i>	463
<i>Plotinus</i>	466
<i>Timon Phliasius</i>	466





# REMARKS

ON

## Ecclesiastical History.

A. D. 311.



ONSTANTINE being disposed to protect and embrace Christianity, which

his father had greatly favoured, and about to fight Maxentius, prayed to God for his assistance. As he was marching, he saw in the afternoon, in the sky, over the sun, a shining cross, with this inscription, *τὸ τῷ νίκῃ*, joined to it. The sight astonished him and the army which

VOL. III.

A

accom-

## 2 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

accompanied him. This he related to Eusebius with his own mouth, and swore to the truth of it, at a time when many of the soldiers were living. Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας ἤδη τὸ ἡμέρας ἀποκλυΐσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ ἔργον ὡς ἐρκείδρον τῷ ἡλίῳ σαυρῶν τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς σωιστάδρον, γραφῶν τε αὐτῷ σωῆσθαι, λέγουσαν, τέτω νίκα. *Horis diei meridianis, sole in occasum vergente, crucis tropæum in cælo ex luce conflatum, soli superpositum, ipsis oculis se vidisse affirmavit, cum hujusmodi inscriptione: Hac vince. Euseb. Vit. Const. i. 28.*

Concerning this story there have been these opposite opinions :

That it was a miracle, wrought in favour of Constantine and of Christianity :

That it was a pious fraud, a mere stratagem of Constantine, to animate his soldiers, and to engage the Christians firmly on his side.

Fabricius, as an *honorarius arbiter*, comes between both, and allows the fact,



fact, but rejects the miracle. *Bibl. Gr.* vi. 8.

There is, says he, a natural appearance, a *Solar Halo*, which sometimes represents a lucid cross, and this is so rarely seen, that it is no wonder if Constantine and they who beheld it with him, accounted it miraculous, especially at that juncture.

If this was no miracle, yet it tended to the service of Christianity, and to bring about the great revolution which then happened.

There are in historians ancient and modern, and in the *Philosophical Transactions*, descriptions of such *phænomena*, and also of lucid circles or crowns accompanying them. Fabricius gives an account and a representation of some.

Thus far all goes well enough : but the great difficulty is the inscription, τέτρω νικα, for which Fabricius offers this solution, that <sup>a</sup> γεγφη means a *picture* as

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius uses γεγφη for a *picture*, speaking of well

#### 4 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

well as a *writing*, and that λέγειν, when applied to a picture or image, means to *denote* or *imply*, and that the words of Constantine and Eusebius may be thus interpreted; To the cross was adjoined a picture or image, intimating that by this he should conquer, which image was a lucid crown, a representation or symbol of victory.

To this I add that Eusebius, by not using the words *σοιχεῖα* or *γράμμαλα*, nor

the cross, represented in a picture of Constantine. Ὁ μὲν δὲ καὶ ἐν ΓΡΑΦΗΣ ὑψηλοτάτῳ πίνακι πρὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν προθύρων ἀνακειμένην, ποῖς πάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶσθαι πρᾶττίθαι, τὸ μὲν σωτήριον ὑπερ-κείμενον τῷ αὐτῷ κεφαλῇς ΤΗ ΓΡΑΦΗ, ὡς εἰδέναι· τὸν ὃ ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον θῆρα, τὸν τινὶ ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τῶν αἰθέων πολιορκήσαντα τυραννίδι, καὶ βύθῳ φερόμενον ποιήσας ἐν δρεγκονίᾳ μερεφῇ. — διὸ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ πῖς αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ποσὶ, βέλει πεπαρμένον καὶ μέσθαι ὅτι κύττας, βυθῶς τε θαλάσσης ἀπερρίμμενον, διὰ τῶν κρησχύτα ΓΡΑΦΗΣ εὐδίκνυ πῖς πᾶσι τὸν δρεγκονίαν. — ὃν καὶ δωάμεν ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῇς ἀνακειμένης σωτηρίας τροπαίαν, καὶ βυθῶν ἀπωλείας κρησχύναι ἐδήλα. Quinetiam in sublimi quadam tabula ante vestibum-

mentioning in what <sup>b</sup> language it was written, seems to speak rather of an emblem or picture than of a writing.

Add to this that in the standard which Constantine ordered to be made in form of a cross, in memory of this omen, he placed a crown of gold and jewels on the top of it, and a cypher denoting the name of Christ, but not the words *τῆς ζωῆς*. *Euseb. Vit. Const. i. 31.*

lum palatii posita, cunctis spectandum proposuit salutare quidem signum capiti suo superpositum: infra vero hostem illum et inimicum generis humani, qui impiorum tyrannorum opera Ecclesiam Dei oppugnaverat, sub draconis forma in præceps ruentem. — Idcirco Imperator draconem telis per medium ventrem confixum, et in profundos maris gurgites projectum, sub suis suorumque liberorum pedibus cera igne resoluta depingi proponique omnibus voluit: --- quem salutaris illius tropæi quod capiti ipsius superpositum erat, vi ac potentia in exitii barathrum detrusum esse significabat. *Vit. Const. iii. 3.*

<sup>b</sup> Philostorgius supplies that defect, and says that it was in Latin: *In hoc vince.* p. 478. But Philostorgius did not see it, and his testimony ought to go for nothing.

## 6 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Amongst the *Panegyrici Veteres*, the eighth is in praise of Constantine, and celebrates his victory over Maxentius, but says not a word of the cross. The author of this Panegyric was a Pagan. The ninth also, composed by Nazarius, is silent concerning this prodigy. One of the Panegyrists speaks of a bad omen, by which he might mean the Cross. See Tillemont *H. des Emp.* iv. 632. *not.*

But, after all, it seems rather more natural to interpret *γραφὴν λέγουσαν* of a writing than of a picture. It is an ugly circumstance, and I wish we could get fairly rid of it.

Licinius, if we may believe the writer *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, was instructed by an Angel how to obtain the victory over Maximinus, *cap.* xlv. p. 276. This seems to have been a military stratagem of Licinius, to regain the favour of the Christians, and to animate his soldiers.

It hath been controverted whether Licinius ever was a Christian. Cardinal Noris takes the negative, Pagi and Basnage



nage the affirmative. The truth of the case seems to have been, that he pretended for some time to be a Christian, but never was so, and that finding the Christians to be much more fond of Constantine than of himself, he threw off the mask. See S. Basnage *Ann.* ii. 667.

WHEN the Church under Constantine and his successors enjoyed the protection of the Civil Powers, the Christians compared their present with their past condition, and called to mind the sufferings of their predecessors, and the patience and fortitude which they had exerted, particularly in the last and severest persecution. These considerations raised in them an high, and indeed a just veneration for the Martyrs: but it did not stop here, it ran into excess, and produced bad effects. Every rumour concerning the behaviour of those Saints was received without due examination, the number of the sufferers was augmented,

## 8 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

the sufferings of some of them were exaggerated, and many fictitious miracles were added to the account. Their bodies were discovered by the help of visions and revelations, and were said to emit perfumes, and to work miracles without end. This drew a great resort to their graves, and every one had his story to tell of the benefits which himself or his neighbour had received. To have been suspicious or slow of belief on such occasions would have passed for little better than atheism, and thus the frenzy grew epidemical. In the time of Augustin, many real or pretended Monks went strolling about, as hawkers and pedlars, selling the <sup>c</sup> bones, and reliques of Martyrs. *August. de Op. Monach.* 28.

The Fathers of those times, as Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, and who not, but particularly Chrysostom with his popular eloquence, contributed to the

<sup>c</sup> See a Dissertation of Mabillon, *De Cultu Sanctorum ignotorum*, in the *Act. Erud.* 1699. p. 107.

utmost



utmost of their power to encourage the superstitious veneration and invocation of Saints, the love of Monkery, and the belief of miracles wrought by Monks and Reliques. Some of these Fathers, particularly Gregory, were in other respects valuable men, but this was the distemper of the age, and they were not free from it. See Chrysostom T. i. *Orat.* 40. p. 485. *Ed. Par.*

Thence arose religious addresses to the Martyrs, who were considered as patrons and intercessors, which tended to lessen the reliance and gratitude due to Christ, and to substitute new expedients in the room of rational piety and strict morality; and those Christians who were conscious of their own defects began to pay immoderate honours to the Martyrs, that by their interest they might obtain remission of sins. Prudentius, who had a fine genius, and was a good poet for the time in which he flourished, to atone, as he says, for the follies of his youth, spent his latter days in defending the Catholic

10 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

tholic Faith, and in composing Hymns to the Martyrs, and expresses his hopes that Saint Romanus would do him a considerable service at the day of judgment, for the sake of a poem in which he had celebrated that Martyr.

*Vellem sinister inter Hædorum greges  
Ut sum futurus, eminus dinoscerer,  
Atque hoc precante, diceret Rex optimus,  
Romanus orat, transfer huc hædum mihi;  
Sit dexter agnus ; induatur vellere.*

Περὶ Στεφ. 10.

These practices suited the half-converts and nominal Christians, who came over for the loaves, under Christian Emperors. The gay and splendid appearance of the Church helped to allure them; they found new religious amusements to make up for those which they had quitted, and if they were superstitious before, they might be so still, *mutatis mutandis*. In the room of Gods and Goddesſes they had Saints male and female, Lord and Lady Protectors, to whom they might

*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.* 11

pay their respects, and instead of sleeping in their old temples, they could slumber over the bones of the Martyrs, and receive as good information and assistance. If they longed for miracles, portents, prodigies, prophecies, visions, dreams, omens, divinations, amulets, charms, *etc.* they might be supplied.

Thus the Fathers of the fourth century in general introduced an irregular worship of the Saints. I am sorry that I cannot entirely acquit Eusebius upon this head: He speaks thus in his *Præparatio*, xiii. 11. “Τῶν ἤδη ἀποθανόντων  
 “ Ἰπὶ σελείας, ὃς ἐν Ὀδοκιμήσας τελειήσῃ,  
 “ ἄρ’ ἐπὶ πρῶτον μὲν φήσομεν τῷ χρυσῷ γένους  
 “ εἶναι; Πᾶν γε μάλιστα. Ἀλλ’ ἐπεισό-  
 “ μεθα Ἡσιόδῳ, ἐπειδὴν τινες τῷ τοιούτῳ γένει  
 “ τελειήσωσιν, ὡς ἄρα,

“ Οἱ μὲν, δαίμονες ἀγνοῖ Ἰπυχθόνιοι τελέεσσιν,  
 “ Ἐσθλοὶ, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀν-  
 “θρώπων;

“ Πεισόμεθα μὲν οὖν. Διαπυθόμενοι ἄρα τῷ  
 “ Θεῷ, πῶς χρὴ τὰς Δαιμονίας τε καὶ θείας  
 “ τιθέναι, καὶ τίνι λαφύρῳ, ἔτῳ καὶ ταύτῃ θή-  
 “ σομεν

12 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ σομῶν, ἣ ἀν' ἐξηγῆται. Τί δ' εἰ μέλλομεν,  
 “ Καὶ πὺν λοιπὸν δὴ χρόνον, ὡς Δαίμονας γε-  
 “ γονότας, ἔτω θερὰ πτόσομῶν τε, καὶ προσκυ-  
 “ νήσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας. Τὰ αὐτὰ ἦ  
 “ ταῦτα νομιᾶμεν, ὅταν τις γήρα, ἢ τινι ἄλλῳ  
 “ τρόπῳ τελευτήσῃ, τῶν ὅσοι ἀν' ἀφαιρόντως  
 “ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀγαθοὶ κερθῶσι.” Καὶ ταῦτα ἦ  
 ἀρμύζει ἐπὶ τῇ τ' Θεοφιλῶν τελευτῇ, ἔς στρα-  
 τιώτας καὶ ἀληθεῖς Ὀσεβείας οὐκ ἀν' ἀμάρισ  
 εἰπὼν, πρὸς λαμβάνεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θή-  
 κας αὐτῶν ἐθῶς ἡμῶν παρμέναι, καὶ τὰς ὁχλὰς  
 πρὸς ταύταις ποιεῖσθαι, τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακα-  
 ρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, ὡς ὁλόγως καὶ τέτων ὑφ'  
 ἡμῶν γιγνομένων. Jam vero (inquit Plato)  
 qui post egregia virtutis exempla, hone-  
 stam in bello mortem occubuerint, num-  
 quid eos in primis ex aureo illo genere  
 fuisse dicemus? Maxime vero. Num  
 etiam Hesiodum audiemus, dum ex eo  
 genere qui vivendi finem fecerint, de illis  
 ita pronunciat,

*Sunt alii Heroes casti, terrasque frequen-  
 tant,*

*Atque ultro mala depellunt, hominesque  
 tuentur?*

Sane



Sane audiemus. Consulto itaque Numine, quonam Heroes illos ac Semideos ritu, quove discrimine consecrari oporteat, religiose omnino quicquid responderit, observabimus. Enimvero faciendum id erit. Tum illos deinceps tanquam Heroas venerabimur, eorumque sepulcra sanctiore cultu prosequemur. Eadem porro statuimus, ubi quis post vitam cum excellentis probitatis opinione traductam, supremum aut senio, aut alio quovis modo diem obierit. *Hæc Plato. Quæ quidem in hominum Deo carissimorum obitus egregie conveniunt, quos veræ pietatis milites jure appellaris. Nam et eorum sepulcra celebrare, et preces ibi vota que nuncupare, et beatas illorum animas venerari consuevimus, idque a nobis merito fieri statuimus.*

This, though it contains no direct invocation of Saints, inclines too much towards it. Therefore Vigerus thought it worthy of a marginal note, and writes MARTYRUM CULTUS, lest the unattentive Reader should pass it by.

The

The argument stands thus : Why should not we Christians shew the same regard to our Saints and Martyrs which the Pagans paid to their Heroes ? and the argument, together with the authority of Plato in this point, is good for nothing.

“ Montfaucon observes that <sup>d</sup> Eusebius  
 “ p. 486. testifies that the good actions  
 “ of holy men, which he calls their me-  
 “ rits, may be beneficial after their death  
 “ to him who shall pray to God to shew  
 “ him mercy for their sakes. This may  
 “ be admitted in some sense ; for, after  
 “ all, God may, if he thinks fit, shew  
 “ favour to a person for the memory of a  
 “ Saint ; but as it is Jesus Christ who is  
 “ the sole foundation of our redemption,  
 “ and as he has ordered us to pray to  
 “ God only in his name, it is much more  
 “ safe to hold fast to that, and not to  
 “ establish, from our own head, new  
 “ forms of devotion, which were un-  
 “ known in the Apostolical times, and

<sup>d</sup> In his Commentary on the Psalms, published by Montfaucon.

“ which



“ which at last grew to an excess that  
“ was past all bearing.” *Le Clerc, Bibl.*  
*A. et M. iv. 16.*

To observe a proper mean in the public respect due to departed Saints, was a difficult point, and required more care and caution than the Fathers and Ecclesiastics of the fourth century thought fit to bestow upon it. Nothing seemed more reasonable than to celebrate suffering Virtue, and to reverence those illustrious persons who had preferred duty to riches, honours, pleasures, and length of days. Gratitude, and dear affection, and friendship, and every commendable disposition pleaded for such a practice, and by it an holy emulation was kindled, and Christians were excited to imitate those whom they admired, and whom they saw thus honoured and praised. But the transition from lawful to unlawful veneration was easily made, and as the Pagans from honouring their Heroes soon began to deify them, it was easy to foresee that the Christians who were come over, or half-  
over

over from Paganism, would behave themselves much in the same manner towards Saints and Martyrs, unless they were diligently restrained. And yet the Fathers, instead of guarding against this rising evil, gave it encouragement by their many indiscretions.

Hubertus Languetus, in one of his Epistles, observes that the day of the martyrdom of John Hufs was kept at Prague with a solemnity approaching to superstition. *Ita autem celebratur ejus memoria, ut ea res aliquid superstitionis mihi habere videatur.* It may be so; but if a little enthusiasm and superstition is pardonable in any case, it is in paying honours to those Worthies, who were massacred by cruel Bigots and by Nominal Christians, and who acted or suffered in defence of Liberty Civil or Religious, Names far more venerable than one half of those which fill up the Calendars and Martyrologies. There is no great danger that Protestants should ever run into such excess, as to worship their Heroes and Martyrs.

Praying

Praying at the tombs of the Martyrs was one of the fooleries which the Fathers should have restrained. What an idea did it give, to weak Christians, of the Almighty, who ought to be worshiped in spirit and in truth? As if He could be supposed to shew more favour to a petition, because it was offered up at the place where a good man lay buried?

As the honours paid to the dead and to the reliques of the Martyrs were set forward and supported, though not entirely, yet principally by the Confubstantialists, the Arians seem to have been rather less disposed to run into these puerilities. Faustus the Manichæan reproaches the Catholic Christians with their endless superstitions of this kind, and tells them that they were no better than humble imitators of Pagan Idolaters.

What the Pagans said of their Gods coming at certain times to visit their cities, the Christians afterwards said of their Saints. See Valesius on *Euseb.* p. 445, 6.

*Juturna Nympha, quæ juvaret. Itaque multi ægroti propter id nomen, hinc aquam petere solent,* says Varro. For the same reason women big with child sacrificed to Egeria, *quod eam putarent facile fœtum alvo egerere,* Festus.

In like manner Christians have adored those Saints, whose names resembled their diseases, their wants, their trades, etc. See La Motthe Le Vayer *Hexam. Rustique* p. 136, etc. who banters these superstitions of those of his own communion.

The sufferings of the Martyrs had another effect upon persons of more zeal than prudence, and of a fervid and fanatical disposition. The times of martyrdom were over, and that sort of courage and constancy could not be exerted; and therefore pious people contrived a method of voluntary martyrdom, and inflicted upon themselves as many pains and penalties as Pagan cruelty had invented. They left parents, wives, children, friends, families, and fortunes, they retired from the world, they ob-  
liged



liged themselves to a single and solitary life, they allowed themselves no more food, raiment, and sleep than would just keep body and soul together; and in these austerities, to do them justice, there was usually no dissimulation; all was performed in earnest. Several of them, as Theodorus and Symeon Stylites, when their mothers or sisters came to visit them, and earnestly begged admittance, would not be seen. When any of them quitted their retirement and returned to the world, they were considered as apostates, and men lost to goodness; but they might enter into the Church.

At first they set at defiance all learning, as useless or pernicious, and imitated their father Antony, who was entirely illiterate. They spent their time working with their hands, and in silence, prayer, and contemplation: but afterwards, when they were

formed into societies, they betook themselves to study.

They dwelt apart, each in his hole, so that most of them kept sad company, and by this moping and ever-musing life they were prepared and qualified to dream dreams, and see visions, and to converse with Angels and Dæmons, and many miracles were said to be wrought by them, which found easy credit and reception in a credulous age.

The Devils used often to appear to the Monks in the figure of Æthiopian boys or men, and thence probably the painters learned to make the Devil black.

Evagrius, an adorer of Monkery, hath given us a strange account of the Monks of Palæstine in the fifth century. Some, says he, shut up in monasteries, exercise all sorts of macerations; some dwell in little dens of the earth just big enough to hold



hold them; others of a more eminent degree, males and females, repair to desert places, wearing nothing except a small covering of their nakedness; and walking upon all four, eat grass and roots like the beasts, and if they see any passenger, they run away and hide themselves. Another sort of Monks, more perfect than all the former, haunt the cities and the places of the greatest resort, *pretending to be mad*, and run into <sup>c</sup> public houses, and eat and drink with any sort of people, and frequent the baths continually, and above all seek out the company of the women who go there, and wash themselves along with them, etc. *Balnea publica frequenter adeunt, et simul cum mulieribus diversantur et lavant. Adeo omni perturbatione animi superiores, ut naturæ ipsi vim inferant, et nec aspectu, nec tactu, nec amplexu ipso mulieris, ad ea quæ naturæ ipsorum propria sunt, inclinari queant. Sed cum viris quidem viri sunt, feminae vero cum fe-*

<sup>c</sup> into brothel-houses, says Nicephorus.

*minis. Non enim unius, sed utriusque simul sexus esse cupiunt.* i. 21. You may think perhaps that Evagrius intended to insult or ridicule them. 'Tis no such thing ; he is very serious.

Gregory Nazianzen celebrating the absurd austerities and mortifications of the monks of Nazianzum, tells us that some of them, through an excess of zeal, killed themselves, to be released from the wicked world, p. 107.

Pachomius the Monk earnestly exhorted his disciples to discover without delay their temptations to the wisest of their brethren, by whom they might be instructed how to get the victory over them, lest by concealing them too long, they should be carried to horrible extremities ; for he assured them that many upon that account had flung themselves from the rocks, had cut open their bellies, and had killed themselves in various ways. *Tillemont* H. E. vii. 199. Nothing is more probable than that such a course

course of life should produce melancholy madness.

Some of the Philosophers had exercised strange severities upon themselves and upon their disciples, from the days of Pythagoras down to the time of Lucian, who introduces the philosopher Nigrinus as condemning such practices, and observing that they had occasioned the death of several persons. Vol. i. p. 67. where Hemsterhusius says ; *Christiani Ascetæ, postquam vestitum veterum philosophorum adsciverant, hæc quoque quæ Lucianus merito deridet, præpostera formandæ pietatis instrumenta non spreverunt ; quo de genere non pauca reperies in Vitis Patrum, et Cassiani Institutionibus. Multa notant, sed admodum perturbate. Cressoll. Tb. Rhet. v. 6, 7. Boilav. Hist. Flag. c. iv. p. 78.*

They who had not the resolution to join themselves with these Monks, yet admired what they would not imitate, *and all the people magnified them.*

24 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Monkery was pretty well established in the time of Constantine. It began in the Eastern countries, in Ægypt, Palæstine, and Persia, before it was introduced into the western parts of the Roman Empire.

“ Palladius was a friend of Rufinus  
“ and of St. Chrysostom, a defender of  
“ Origen, a favourer of Pelagius, and an  
“ adversary of Saint Jerom. His history  
“ of the Monks, and of their miracles,  
“ contains, like most other accounts of  
“ this kind, many extraordinary things.  
“ Amongst several instances of solid virtue and useful reflections, we find in  
“ it childish observations, examples which  
“ it would be dangerous to imitate, extravagant austerities, unreasonable actions, and injudicious enterprises.” *Du Pin.*

Palladius was a Bishop, and had been a Monk himself. He wrote the lives of the Monks down to his own time, to A. D. 420. His Book is called *Historia Lausica*, a work, says Fabricius, *quod nemo*



*nemo leget sine summa admiratione studii incredibilis quo viri illi et feminae tam enixe conati sunt austeritate vitæ celibis et solitariae, cultu durissimo, inedia ac jejuniis vix humanis, et abstinentia ab omnibus commodis vitæ, assequi sanctimoniam. Quanquam hanc in longe aliis rebus consistere, aliis peti aliquæ, neque in solitudines esse relegandam, et cum conjugio et societate hominum neutiquam pugnare tum sacræ literæ tum ratio sana et sanctorum hominum non solitariorum conjugumque exempla, et Monachorum atque Eremitarum peccata testantur. Bibl. Gr. ix. 5.*

The Greek Philosophers had a particular dress, and affected to appear rough, mean, and dirty, for which they were sometimes insulted in the streets by boys and by the populace; and the Cynics, very prudently, were armed with a staff, to defend themselves from dogs and from the rabble. The Christian Monks imitated the old Philosophers in their garb and appearance, and many of them seemed, in the opinion of those who loved them

them not, to have inherited the rags, the pride, and the contentious spirit of the former.

Some of them, out of mortification, would not catch or kill the vermin which devoured them, in which they far surpassed the Jews, who only spared them upon the Sabbath day. *Qui pediculum Sabbatho necat, tam reus est, quam qui camelum Sabbatho necaret* : says a Rabbi.

Ammon, the father of the Ægyptian Monks, in the days of his youth, being importuned by his relations to take a wife, married a young virgin, and on the wedding evening entertained her with a long harangue against the married state, and made her as fanatical as himself. The conclusion of which was that they both eloped from their house, and fled to the desert, and there led a monastic life. *Socrates* iv. 23.

We may compare this with the metamorphosis of Hippomenes and Atalanta, who on their wedding day were turned into lions :

*modo*



*nudo lene fuisse*

*Calce fuisse velant: digiti circumferunt in  
ungues:*

*Ex hameris armi sunt: in pectore tu-  
tum*

*Pectus abest: summa cervice verrantur  
arene.*

*Iron cultus habet; pro verbis marmura  
reddunt:*

*Pro thalami celebrant fides.*

Ovid Met. x.

However, the Monks, even in the earliest times, were not all of them such wonderful examples of mortification, as we learn from an unexceptionable witness, who was a fast friend and patron of Monks, from Athanasius. Writing to Dracontius, a Monk, who had been chosen a Bishop, and wanted much to decline the office, he says; *When you are a Bishop, you may fast and drink no wine: for we have known Bishops who were fasters, and Monks who were eaters, Bishops who abstained from wine, and Monks who*  
*drank*

*drank it ; Bishops who wrought miracles, and Monks who wrought none : many of the Bishops have kept themselves even from matrimony, and Monks have been the fathers of children.* Epist. ad Dracont.

Tillemont, when he gives an account of this Epistle, omits the passage we have cited ; and Du Pin in his *Bibliothèque* hath inserted it. Each had his reasons.

Jerom exhorts Rusticus, a Monk, to live in a Monastery, rather than to be an Hermit in a solitary place. He sets forth the inconveniencies and bad consequences of this way of life. An Hermit, says he, becomes proud, thinks himself a man of importance, forgets what he is, eats what he will, sleeps as much as he thinks fit, stands in awe of no person, is oftner rambling in the streets than at home in his cell. Not that I blame a solitary life, but I would have men first learn their spiritual exercises in a Monastery. *Du Pin.* 2

They

— They who have judged Monasteries to be hurtful or useles, yet ever approved of Universities, Colleges, Halls, Schools, Public Libraries, Hospitals, and Places set apart for the relief of the miserable, the encouragement of literature, and the education of youth. Our Chelsea-College, as they say, was designed by King James I. for *Polemic Divines*; and then, with a very small and easy alteration, it was made a receptacle of *maimed and disabled soldiers*.

If the King's project had been put in execution, the House would probably have been an House of Discord; and *Peace be within thy walls*, would have been a fruitless wish, and a prayer bestowed in vain upon it. — *Eo primum sine fundatum fuit (hoc Collegium) a Jacobo primo, ut illic Theologi alerentur, quorum officium esset, ut publice oppugnarent novas in Ecclesia hæreses.* Act. Erudit. MDCCIX. p. 114.

The *Baleares*, to teach their children the use of the sling, hung up their dinner, and did not let them eat it till they had

had fetch'd it down with a stone. In like manner, the Fellows of this College were not to have been admitted to Commons, till they had discovered a new heresy in the writings of some contemporary, and had confuted the doctrine and worried the Author.

Constantine held in the highest veneration those who addicted themselves to *divine philology*, as it was called in those days, that is, to Monkery; and the holy women who preserved a perpetual virginity, these he almost adored. So says Eusebius, who was carried away himself with the torrent, and overvalued this strange way of life. *Vit. Const.* iv. 26. 28. *Demonstr. Ev.* i. 8, 9. iii. p. 129: To some of these Saints might have been applied what Tertullian says of the Roman God Faunus Fatuus, *Curari eum magis quam consecrari decebat.*

But of all the praisers of Virginity, Jerom seems to have performed his part the best, who calls Eustochium the Nun, *His Lady*, because she was the *spouse* of his

his *Lord*, and reminds the mother of this Lady, that she had the honour to be *God's mother in law, Socrus Dei.* Epist. ad Eustoch. T. iv. P. 2. p. 27 et 36.

After all, since some of the ancient Monks seem to have been pious, honest, well-meaning and sensible men, a doubt will arise whether the writers of their lives have not sometimes misrepresented them, as using more rigour and self-maceration than they really exercised; and whether they have not ascribed to them some freaks and follies into which they never fell, as well as miracles which they never performed. The sayings and the actions of these solitary Saints, collected by Tillemont, Fleury, and others, and inserted in various parts of their Ecclesiastical Histories, are sometimes noble and commendable, charitable, discreet, compassionate, and good-natured, but oftener trifling, frantic, absurd, and ridiculous, mixed with everlasting apparitions of Devils, and with miracles of the most useless, fantastic, and improbable kind.



kind. So the whole is a strange medley of piety and folly, sense and nonsense.

Concerning the miracles wrought in the fourth and fifth centuries, this general observation may be made, that they were usually performed, either to serve the cause of the Consubstantialists and to run down Arianism, as afterwards Nestorianism and Pelagianism, or to establish the adoration of Saints and of Reliques, or to represent a Monastic life as the summit of human piety, the quintessence of perfection, and a service the most acceptable to heaven. One would wonder how the Physicians did to live in those days, when this effusion of miracles seemed to have rendered their art altogether unnecessary. They could have had no business, except amongst Pagans, Jews, Heretics, and Schismatics.

The Ægyptian Monks, says Sozomen, preserved with great care the memory of the wonders wrought by their founders and fore-fathers; but they thought it  
proper

proper to deliver them down from one to another by word of mouth, not by written records. Perhaps they were driven to this method by necessity, and because they could neither write nor read.

As a story never loses in telling, the wonders were daily augmented by this excellent contrivance, and the Traditionary Snow-ball, rolled about by the Monks, licked up new materials, and made a considerable figure. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ θεασέσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ (συμβέβηκεν, ἂν μάλιστα τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Μοναχοῖς ἠκρόβω), πρὸ πολλῶν ποιημάτων, Διδοχῇ πρὸς δόσεως ΑΓΡΑΦΟΥ Ἰπμελῶς ἀπομνημονεύειν τὰς τῶ παλαιτέρων Ἀσκητῶν ἀρετάς. *Multa porro per eum (Ammonem) mirabilia contigerunt, quæ ab Ægypti Monachis studiose notata sunt: quippe qui magni æstimant, veterum Monachorum virtutes continua successione sibi a majoribus traditas accurate commemorare.* i. 14.

Valesius hath not expressed the sense altogether so clearly as he ought to have done.

The Ægyptians were by nature disposed to bear austerities and mortifications, and fit to become Monks. *Homines autem Ægyptii plerique subfuscū sunt, et atrati, — gracilentī, et aridi, ad singulos motus excandescētes, controversi et reposcōnes acerrimi. Erubescit apud eos, si quis non inficiando tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat. Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quæ obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat.* Amm. Marcell. xxii. 16. Αἰγυπτίως φασὶ δεινῶς ἐγκαρτερεῖν ταῖς βασάνοις, καὶ ὅτι θᾶτον τεθνῆξαι ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτῳ σρεβλούμῳ ἢ τ' ἀληθὲς ὁμολογήσῃ. *Ælian Var. Hist.* vii. 18.

The Emperor Valens made a law to compel the Monks to serve civil offices, and, as some say, to serve in the army, which was no bad scheme. See *Cod. Theod.* l. xii. *Tit.* i. p. 409. and Gothofred's notes, and Tillemont H. E. viii. 608. 808.

*Quidam*

Quidam ignaviæ sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis cum cœtibus Monazontôn congregantur. Hos igitur atque hujusmodi, intra Ægyptum deprehensos, per Comitem Orientis, erui e latebris consultâ præceptione mandavimus, atque ad munia patriarum subeunda revocari. — Cod. Th. The same Law is to be found in Justinian's Code. Many of these Monks, as it appears from Ecclesiastical History, had such a martial spirit, and were so addicted to fighting, that they were fitter for the Camp than for the Cloister.

But it is not probable that Valens would have done the Ægyptian Monks so much honour as to list them for soldiers, or that they had the legal qualifications requisite for it. He compelled them *militare*, as Orosius and others say; but in those days the words *militia* and *militare* were used for all kind of public offices, civil as well as military.



In the fourth century the number of the Monks and Nuns of Ægypt alone amounted to more than ninety six thousand. *Fleury H. E. v. p. 30.*

One reason of this multiplication of Monks was that they were a collection of all sorts of people, of beggars, fugitives, vagabonds, slaves, day-labourers, peasants, mechanics of the lowest sort, thieves and highway-men, inured to stripes, poverty, hunger, and hardships, so that a Monastic life, such as it was, was preferable to that which they had led, and by becoming Monks, they became Gentlemen, and a sort of Saints. We find from Augustin, that several of them refused to labour with their hands, and expected to be maintained in laziness, pretending that the good instruction which they imparted, and the good example which they set, deserved such a recompence; for which this Father reprimands them. ii. *Retract. c. 21.*

The Monks in all times had their friends and their foes, the first were generally



nerally of the Clergy, and the second of the Laity.

In the fourth century the people of Rome for the most part (as we learn from Jerom) abhorred the Monks who repaired thither from the East, as beggarly Impostors, and hungry Greeks, who seduced Ladies of fortunes and quality, and often ruined their health by persuading them to practise rigid mortifications and austerities.

When Jerom departed from Rome, A. D. 385. Paula with her daughter Eustochium followed him. She was an illustrious Lady, of the family of the *Gracchi* and the *Cornelii*. Before she set out, she divided her effects amongst her children; and then went to the haven, accompanied by her young, afflicted weeping family, her brother, her children and her kindred. *Parvus Toxotius*, says Jerom, *supplices manus tendebat in litore. Rufina jam nubilis, ut suas expectaret nuptias, tacitis fletibus obsecrabat.*

But Paula, like another <sup>f</sup> Regulus, brake through all these dear obstacles. She went to Cyprus, to kiss the feet of Epiphanius; thence to Antioch to visit Paulinus, and thence I know not whither.

What a folly for a grave Matron to leave her family, out of devotion, and transformed into a religious Gypsie, to roam about by sea and land from place to place, to visit Monks and Ecclesiastics! and what a still greater indiscretion in Jerom to countenance and encourage such things! The Laics in those days had just cause to dislike the Monks, who put such superstitious fancies into the heads of their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters, and taught them to throw away their time and their money too; for these travelling Ladies used to carry alms and oblations with them, to be di-

*f Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,  
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,  
Ab se removisse, et virilem  
Torvus humi posuisse vultum.*

tributed

distributed as the Directors of their conscience should advise.

Homer was a much better preacher upon this subject, than the Fathers of the fourth and following centuries :

Ἔ' Ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰῆσα τὰ ζαυῆς ἔργα  
κόμιζε,  
Ἰσὸν τ' ἡλακάτω τε, Ἐ ἀμφιπόλοισι  
κέλευε  
Ἔργον ἐπείχεαθ.

II. Z.

Melania, the younger, had the same kind of zeal, and was much admired for it. *Piniano juncta erat, juveni nobilissimo, quem duorum filiorum patrem fecerat.* Tantum eam cœpit odium matrimonii, ut dixerit marito suo Piniano, filio Severi, qui erat ex Præfectis, Si voveris quidem habitare mecum ut ratio dicat, te dominum agnosco. Sin autem hoc tibi grave videtur, utpote juveni, res

Ἔ No more — but hasten to thy tasks at home,  
There guide the spindle, and direct the loom.

omnes meas tibi habe, et solum sine me esse corpore liberam. Deus postea misertus adolescentis, ei zelum pietatis immisit. Cum ergo nupsisset viro, tredecim annos nata, septem vero cum eo vixisset, vigesimo ætatis suæ anno mundo renunciat. *Pallad. Laus.* Omnia sua serica integumenta dedit altaribus, parteque prædiorum longe maximâ distractâ, collectam pecuniam in Palæstinam, Ægyptum, aliasque regiones pauperibus Monachisque distribuendam misit. S. Basnage *Ann.* iii. 228. This was A. D. 408.

Ambrose was one of the violent declaimers in favour of virginity, and in a treatise on that subject he exhorts girls to enter into Nunneries, though against the will of their parents, which was highly indiscreet, to say no more, and which gave great offence to many Christians, even in those days. *De Virgin.* See Barbeyrac. Du Pin. T. ii. p. 246.



CONSTANTINE had a great desire to accomplish two very laudable designs; the first was to propagate Christianity and to convert unbelievers; the other was to reunite Christians, and to compose their differences. In the first attempt he succeeded in some measure, but along with those who were sincere in their profession, there came a multitude of hypocrites and nominal Christians: the latter project he soon found to be impracticable.

In the persecution A.D. 303. Christians were required to give up their sacred books. They who complied were called *Traditores*. Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, was suspected of this fault, for which, and for other reasons, Donatus and his partisans refused to hold communion with him; and thus began the schism of the Donatists, which continued three hundred years, and overspread the provinces of Afric. Constantine took fruitless pains to settle this affair by Councils



cils and hearings, and finding the Donatists extremely refractory, he was provoked to use rough methods, and to banish their ringleaders ; but afterwards he recalled them and gave them up, as he said, like incorrigible fools, to their own madness.

Those schismatics who wrangle in good earnest about trifles, have an incurable understanding, and are unpersuadeable, and would fall out with themselves, if they had none else to oppose.

ABOUT the same time brake out the Arian controversy, which made more noise, and did more mischief. It was the occasion of innumerable lies, slanders, forgeries, pretended miracles, persecutions, banishments, seditions, and murders, of many false and partial histories, and of a multitude of Councils which produced only confusion and discord. An Evil Dæmon, says Eusebius, who  
en-

envied the peace and prosperity of the Church, set us at variance.

<sup>h</sup> *At sæva e speculis tempus Dea nacta  
nocendi*

*Ardua tecta petit stabuli; et de cul-  
mine summo*

*Pastorale canit signum, cornuque re-  
curvo*

*Tartaream intendit vocem: qua pro-  
tenus omne*

*Contremuit nemus, et silvæ intonuere  
profundæ.*

*Audiit et Triviæ longe lacus, audiit  
amnis*

*Sulfurea Nar albus aqua, fontesque  
Velini:*

*Et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora  
natos.*

Here also Constantine laboured in vain to bring things to an accommodation: the most probable way to effect it was not put in execution.

<sup>h</sup> Virg. *Æn.* vii. 511.

#### 44 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, and Arius who was a Presbyter in his diocese<sup>i</sup>, disputed together about the nature of Christ; and the Bishop being displeased at the notions of Arius, and finding that they were adopted by other persons, *was very angry*, says Socrates, *πρὸς ὁργὴν ἐξάπτε*).

He commanded Arius to come over to his sentiments, and to quit his own : as if a man could change his opinions as easily as he can change his coat ! *τὸν Ἀρειὸν ὁμοίως φρονεῖν ἐκέλευσε*. Soz.

He then called a Council of war, consisting of near an hundred Bishops, and deposed, excommunicated, and anathematized Arius, and with him several Ecclesiastics, two of whom were Bishops.

*Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum  
Causa fuit.*

The Benedictin Editors of Athanasius tell us that Alexander was as mild as a

<sup>i</sup> Si ulla pars est Theologiæ, in qua facile est aut errare aut accusari, est illa de Trinitate. *Grotius.*

lamb, *vir mitis et pacis amans*. Others will think perhaps that he and his assessors were too expeditious in passing sentence, and ready to turn a brother out of doors without much ceremony.

*Collige sarcinulas, exclamat Præsul, et  
exi*

*Ocius, et propera.*

Alexander then wrote a circular Letter to all Bishops, in which he represents Arius and his partizans as heretics, apostates, blasphemers, enemies of God, full of impudence and impiety, forerunners of Antichrist, imitators of Judas, and men whom it was not lawful to salute, or to bid God speed.

Yet Sozomen acknowledges that they were learned men, and in all appearance, good men. *Cum igitur Alexander multos sanctioris vitæ specie venerabiles, et dicendi arte pollentes Arianis favere animadverteret, ac præcipue Eusebium, qui tunc temporis Nicomediensem Ecclesiam gubernabat, virum doctissimum, magnæque in palatio auctoritatis, cunctis ubique Epi-*  
4 *scopis*

*scopis scripsit, ne cum illis communicarent.*  
 Soz. i. 15. *At vero Eusebius, et alii*  
*quidam Orientalium partium Episcopi, qui*  
*tum doctrinæ tum sanctitatis causa per id*  
*tempus celeberrimi habebantur. — Idem*  
 iii. 18.

Theodoret himself says of Basilus An-  
 cyranus and Eustathius Sebastenus, who  
 were Semiarian Bishops. *Porro ambo fa-*  
*miliares erant Imperatori (Constantio) et*  
*ob eximiam vitæ sanctimoniam summa apud*  
*eum auctoritate et fiducia pollebant.* ii.  
 25.

There is no reason to doubt of the  
 probity and sincerity of those who op-  
 posed Alexander and the Nicene Fa-  
 thers; for what did they get by it, be-  
 sides obloquy, and banishment? Many  
 good men were engaged on both sides of  
 the controversy: So it was in the fourth  
 century, and so it hath been ever since.

In the same Epistle, Alexander is very  
 severe upon Eusebius of Nicomedia, who  
 afterwards was the head of the Arian  
 party.

In



In defence of the divinity and eternity of the Son he uses arguments which are not all of them conclusive, and brings texts of Scripture of which some are, and others are not to the purpose. To prove the eternity of the Λόγος, he cites *Psalms* xlv. 1. *My heart is enditing a good matter.* In the Greek, Ἐξερχόμην ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν. To this he adds another proof, which shews that he was a passable Cabbalist: *Solomon*, says he, declares *Prov. xxx. 19. that it is impossible to find out the way of a serpent upon a rock; which rock, as St. Paul tells us, is Christ.* How hardned and perverse must those men have been, who could withstand such evidence?

He declares that the Son is from all eternity, immutable, and perfectly like the Father in all things, excepting that he is not *unbegotten*, or *self-existing*; that upon this account the Father is *greater than the Son*, and that the Son is of a *middle nature* between the First Cause of all things, and the creatures which  
from

from a state of non-existence were called into being. — μόνῳ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ λειπόμηνον ἑκείνῳ — ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπαίδευσεν ὁ Κύριος ὁ Πατήρ μου, λέγων, μείζων μου ἐστίν. — *hoc solo inferiorem Patre, quod inginitus non est — sicut ipse Dominus docuit, cum ait, Pater major me est, etc.* And again: — μακρόν ἂν εἴη μέλαξὺ Πατρὸς ἀγενήτης καὶ τῶν κτισθέντων ἢ αὐτῷ ἐξ ὧν ὄντων — ὧν μεσιτεύσας ΦΥΣΙΣ μονογενής, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἐξ ὧν ὄντων ἐποίησεν ὁ Πατήρ τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ, ἡ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῷ ὄντι Πατρὸς γεγέννηται. — *multum interest inter Patrem inginitum et res ab illo creatas ex nihilo. — Inter quæ duo medium obtinens unigenita natura Dei Verbi, per quam Pater universa condidit ex nihilo, ex ipso vero Patre progenita est.* Apud Theodoret. i. p. 17.

*Benigne intelligendum est quod ait Alexander, says Valesius. It is very well observed; for without benignity and grains of allowance, Alexander himself will not be much better than the Semi-Arians.*

*Sed vos, Trojugenæ, vobis ignoscitis. —*

Therefore

Therefore Valesius, and several besides him, *interpret* the words of Alexander, so as to express their own *scholastic* language, and say that *φύσις* means *personality* considered abstractedly from *entity*. See Le Clerc *Art. Crit.* vol. i. p. 293, etc.

The difference between Alexander and the Semiarrians seems not to have been great. Yet Pachomius, the Monk, had a revelation, and a voice from heaven, which directed him to follow the doctrine of Alexander. *Such was the testimony which God gave to the pure and orthodox faith of this holy Prelate, who was soon to be attacked by the calumnies of the Arians.* Tillemont. H. E. vi. 216. If this be true, a man may be orthodox, without coming fully up to that standard of orthodoxy which was fixed in later ages. Monsieur Jurieu, whose zeal against heresy is well known, assures us that the fundamental articles of Christianity were not understood by the Fathers of the three first centuries, that the true

VOL. III. D system

system began to be modelled into some shape by the Nicene Bishops, and was afterwards immensely improved and beautified by the following Synods and Councils, that is by the *Jurieux* of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus did this warm and imprudent writer make concessions as large and liberal as his adversaries could desire, and deliver himself up to be buffeted by the Socinians, whom he had treated as the vilest of all heretics.

Philostorgius says that one Alexander Baucalis was the incendiary, who stirred up the unhappy quarrel between Alexander and Arius. He also tells us that Alexander of Alexandria owed his bishoprick to Arius, who might have been chosen, but declined it, and preferred Alexander to himself; he also mentions some things which are not to the honour of Athanasius. Philostorgius indeed was an Arian; but there is no good reason why we should follow the example of modern Ecclesiastical Historians, and believe every thing that the Homousians



ousians say concerning the Arians, and nothing that the Arians say concerning the Homousians. It is best to be diffident, and not to trust overmuch to the relations of either party.

Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius the Historian endeavoured to pacify Alexander, and to persuade him to make up the quarrel, and Constantine sent a letter by the illustrious Hosius of Corduba to Alexander and Arius, in which he reprimanded them both for disturbing the Church with their insignificant disputes *ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἔλαττων ἐλαχίστων*, *de rebus parvis atque levissimis*, and exhorted them to mutual forbearance and forgiveness. Socrates commends this letter, and calls the Emperor's sentiments wise and prudent. *Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐν θαυμαστῇ ἔστι σοφίας μετὰ παρήναι ἢ τῇ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῇ.* — i. 8. which Valesius renders: *Et hæc quidem Imperator admirabili sapientia præditus per literas suadebat.* He should have said *prædita* or *plena*, but he seems, for certain good reasons, to have had a mind



52 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

to translate it wrong. Eusebius also hath published and praised this Epistle. Tillemont, Baronius, and many others are highly offended at it, and suppose that the Emperor when he wrote it, had some evil counsellor at his elbow, either Satan, or Eusebius.

But the affair was gone too far to be thus composed, and Socrates represents both sides as equally contentious and refractory.

To settle this and other points, the Nicene Council was summoned, consisting of about *three hundred and eighteen* Bishops, a <sup>k</sup> *mystical* number, on which many profound remarks have been made.

The first thing that they did was to quarrel, and to express their resentments, and to present accusations to the Emperor against one another. So say Socrates, Sozomen, Rufinus. Theodoret favours his brethren in this affair, and

<sup>k</sup> See Barnabas c. ix. p. 28. and his Commentators.

seems to throw the fault upon the Laity. *Rufinus quidem ait Episcopos variis de causis inter se jurgantes libellos criminatio- num adversus collegas Constantino obtulisse. Theodoritus vero libellos illos porrectos fu- isse dicit a Laicis, qui Episcopos variis de causis accusabant.* Valesius ad *Theod.* i. 11. But the whole story, as it is related by them all, and even by Theodoret, shews that the Bishops accused one another.

The Emperor burnt all their libels, and exhorted them to peace and unity; so that if they had not been restrained by his authority, and by fear and respect, they would probably have spent their time in altercations. *Socrates* i. 8.

*In ea sententia fuit Socrates, says Bi- shop Bull, ut crederet Concilio Episcopo- rum vere Universali semper adesse Spiritus Sancti gratiam illuminatricem, quæ eos, utcunque rudes et imperitos (quod tamen Sabinus de Patribus Nicenis falso affirma- verat) ab errore saltem in necessariis Fidei articulis immunes custodiret.* Def. Fid. Nic. See *Socrates* i. p. 31.

Thus the *Infallibility* of General Councils is established. But where, I pray, is this written? and in what part of the New Testament shall we find this important doctrine?

What constitutes a General Council? and how shall we know when it is *vere Universale*? For this, it seems, is a necessary requisite to draw down Infallibility upon it.

Have Bishops alone a right to vote in a General Council? Why are Presbyters excluded, etc.? Were even all the Christian Bishops invited to the Nicene Council? Were the Novatian Bishops admitted there? No, says Valesius; they deserved to be shut out as being Schismatics. It may be so; but they were accounted orthodox in points of doctrine, and they had also a plausible claim to admittance, if they wrought miracles. Socrates tells us that some of them had these extraordinary gifts, and their miracles are as probable as those of Antony, of Hilarion, of Symeon, and of other Monks.

Monks. Four hundred Bishops met together at Ariminum: did they constitute a General Council? No; it was an Arian Council, and therefore it must not be called *Concilium*, but *Conciliabulum*. Thus the question concerning *Universality* is somewhat embarrassed. But let us proceed to something that is not embarrassed, and that is sufficiently plain.

Let us imagine then a Council called by a Christian Emperor, by a Constantine, a Constantius, a Theodosius, a Justinian, and three or four or five hundred Prelates assembled together from all quarters, to decide a theological debate.

Let us consider a little by what various motives these various men may be influenced, as by reverence to the Emperor, or to his Counsellors and Favourites, his Slaves and Eunuchs; by the fear of offending some great Prelate, as a Bishop of Rome or of Alexandria, who had it in his power to insult, vex, and plague all the Bishops within and with-



56 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

out his jurisdiction; by the dread of passing for heretics, and of being calumniated, reviled, hated, anathematized, excommunicated, imprisoned, banished, fined, beggared, starved if they refused to submit; by compliance with some active leading and imperious spirits, by a deference to the majority, by a love of dictating and domineering, of applause and respect, by vanity and ambition, by a total ignorance of the question in debate, or a total indifference about it, by private friendships, by enmity and resentment, by old prejudices, by hopes of gain, by an indolent disposition, by good-nature, by the fatigue of attending, and a desire to be at home, by the love of peace and quiet, and a hatred of contention, *etc.*

Whosoever takes these things into due consideration will not be disposed to pay a blind deference to the authority of General Councils, and will rather be inclined to judge that the Council held by the Apostles at Jerusalem was the first and the



the last in which the Holy Spirit may be affirmed to have presided.

Thus far we may safely go, and submit to an Apostolical Synod : but if once we proceed one step beyond this, we go we know not whither. If we admit the infallibility of one General Council, why not of another ? and where shall we stop ? At the first Nicene Council, A. D. 325, or at the second Nicene Council, A. D. 736 ? They who disclaim private judgment, and believe the infallibility of the Church, act consistently in holding the infallibility of Councils ; but they who take their faith from the Scriptures, and not from the Church, should be careful not to require nor to yield too much regard to such Assemblies, how numerous soever. Numbers in this case go for little, and to them the old Proverb may be applied ;

*Est turba semper argumentum pessimi.*

I would have said *sæpe*, but the verse will not admit it.

If even the Nicene Council hath small pretensions to infallibility, the subsequent General Councils, as that of Constantinople, and that of Ephesus, have still less pretensions, as Bishop Bull must have known, and as every one knows who is at all acquainted with their history. A Council of Gladiators held in an Amphitheatre would be as venerable as that of the Constantinopolitan Fathers, if Gregory Nazianzen may be believed. The testimony of this pious and learned Father is very troublesome to the admirers of such Assemblies, and they are willing to suppose that it was the effect of peevishness, and that old age and ill usage had sowerd his temper in some degree.

What would the good man have said, if he had lived to see the General Council of Ephesus, which was far worse than any thing that his eyes had ever beheld? He would have wished himself at the ends of the earth, to be rid of such company, and as he was a Poet, he would have

have made verses upon the occasion, after the manner of

*Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis  
Arbor æstiva recreatur aura ;  
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque  
Jupiter urget :  
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui  
Solis in terra domibus negata —*

If such Councils made righteous decrees, it must have been by strange good-luck.

Several writers of the fourth and following centuries have indeed spoken of the Nicene Fathers as of *inspired men* ; but we must remember that the Epithets θεόπνευστος and θεοφόρος, like other complimenting titles, were extremely cheap in those days,

Eusebius and several of the ancients commend the Nicene Bishops in general : Sabinus Bishop of Heraclea, and of the sect of the Macedonians, called them ignorant and illiterate men, in his Collection of Councils which is lost, for which Socrates reprimands him, and Bishop

shop Bull censures him with great vehemence.

In the Nicene Council there were undoubtedly not a few learned, pious, and virtuous Prelates, and holy Confessors; and some worthy persons, though not so many, in some of the subsequent General Councils; but in such assemblies the best and the most moderate men seldom have the ascendant, and they are often led or driven by others who are far inferior to them in good qualities.

A General Council, as we are told, will at least be secured from erring in fundamentals.

But by this way of reasoning the number of *fundamentals* will be increased beyond measure and without end, and *metaphysical terms of art* will be accounted *fundamental doctrines*, as if the very existence of Christianity could depend upon words not used by the Holy Spirit, unknown to the sacred Writers, not to be found in the Creeds of the three first centuries,



centuries, of which different interpretations were given when they were first established, and have been given ever since, and which common people most certainly do not and cannot understand: but they are secured, it seems, by that sort of faith without knowledge, which the Church of Rome recommends, and which is called by some *Fides Carbonaria*.

At the Nicene Council, Eusebius proposed a Creed, in which he avoided the word ὁμοῶσι, and anathematized every *impious heresy*, without specifying any: but his advice was not followed, ὁμοῶσι was inserted, and the Arian doctrines were anathematized.

Disputes, as we may well suppose, ensued amongst the Bishops concerning the meaning and the consequences of the word ὁμοῶσι. Eusebius assented to it, and declared in what sense he understood it. His sense of *consubstantial* was, that the Son of God was not like created beings, but received his existence and his perfections from the Father in a different and in



*an ineffable manner.* Thus he took leave to interpret for himself the ὁμοῦσι; and the Council seems to have given him permission so to do, or at least not to have passed any sort of censure upon him, tho' they understood more to be contained in that word. If that were really the case, as I think it was, Eusebius did not deceive the Council.

Others gave other senses to it, and the debate, says Socrates, was like a battle fought in the dark. — ἡ τῶ ὁμοσχίσ· λέξις τινὰς διελέξατο· πρὶ ἣν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀκροβολουμένους τὸν καθ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμον ἤγειραν· νυκτομαχίας τε εἶδεν ἀπείχε τὰ γινόμενα. εἶδ' ὅτι ἀλλήλους ἐφαίνοντο νοῶντες, ἀφ' ὧν ἀλλήλους βλασφημεῖν ὑπελάμβανον. — vox Confusionalis; quorundam animos conturbabat; quam illi diu multumque versantes, et scrupulosius examinantes, intestinum inter se bellum excitaverunt. Eaque res nocturnæ pugnæ haudquaquam dissimilis erat: neque enim utrique satis intelligere videbantur, cur sese invicem calumniis  
appe-

*appetere instituisse.* — i. 23. et Soz. ii. 18.

Socrates was a Consubstantialist, so far as to believe even that miracles were wrought by the Monks in favour of that doctrine, and yet upon examining the Epistles written on the controversy by Bishops of each party, he could not help concluding that they disputed about words of which they had no ideas, and charged one another with consequences and inferences which neither side would own.

The Council of Antioch, which consisted of Consubstantialists, wrote an Epistle to the Emperor Jovian, and explain their doctrine in the following manner :

Ἀναφέρομεν τῇ σῇ Ἀλαβείᾳ, ὅτι τῆ ἁγίας  
Συνόδου τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ πάλαι πρότερον συληρο-  
τηθείσης τὴν πίσιν καὶ ἀποδεχόμεθα, καὶ καλέ-  
χομεν. ὁπότε καὶ τὸ δοκῆν ἐν αὐτῇ τισὶ ξένον  
ὄνομα, τὸ τῷ Ὁμοουσίου φαρμὸν, ἀσφαλῆς τε-  
τύχηκε παρὰ πῶς παλαιοῖς ἐρμηνείας, Σημαι-  
νούσης ὅτι ἐκ τῆ οὐσίας τῷ πατρὶ οἱ Υἱὸς ἐγερ-  
νήθη, καὶ ὅτι ὅμοιοι καὶ οὐσίαν τῷ Πατρί. οὕτε

δε ὡς πάθους τινὲς πρὸς τὴν ἀόρητον γλῶσσαν  
 ἑπινοησάμεν, ἕτε καὶ τινὰ χρῆσιν Ἑλληνικῶν  
 λαμβάνειν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς οὐσίας. εἰς ἀνατροπὴν  
 τῆς ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων πρὸς τῆς ὕψις ἀσεβῶς πλημ-  
 θέντος. Ἀρεῖω. *Religioni tuæ significamus,*  
*nos fidem eorum qui Nicææ olim congregati*  
*sunt, et probare et retinere. Etenim vo-*  
*cabulum in ea Synodo positum, quod quibus-*  
*dam novum atque insolens videtur, Consub-*  
*stantialis videlicet, id cautissimam interpre-*  
*tationem a Patribus accepit; ut scilicet*  
*Filius ex substantia Patris genitus, et quoad*  
*substantiam Patri similis esse intelligatur.*  
*Non quo perpeßio quædam in illa inenarrabili*  
*generatione cogitetur, aut nomen substan-*  
*tiæ juxta Gentilium usum et consuetudi-*  
*nem accipiatur: sed ut evertatur id quod*  
*Arius ausus erat asserere, Filium ex nihilo*  
*extitisse. Apud Sozom. vi. 4.*

This is interpreting *obscurum per ob-*  
*scurius*; and if any one can tell what  
 these Lycophrons meant by οὐσία, he  
 must be very sagacious. All that we can  
 learn from their Epistle is, that the word  
 οὐσία, being used by Christian Divines,  
 had

had lost its Pagan signification, and had not acquired a new one.

Si aurem præbeamus viris, quorum alioquin auctoritatem spèrnere nequaquam possumus, de *Synodis* veteribus loquentibus, nobis magnifica oratione describent *ἀγίας ἡ οἰκουμένης Συνόδους Θεοφόρων πατέρων, Συναθροισθείσας ὑπὸ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς μεγάλης βασιλείας, ἡ ἰσαποστόλης. Sanctos et œcumenicos cœtus adflatorum divinitus patrum, congregatos in regno magni regis et Apostolis æquiparandi.* Quis, auditis his

et similibus verbis, religioso quodam horrore et corpore et animo non contremiscat, ac paratus non sit oracula ejusmodi cœtûs avidis auribus excipere, haud aliter ac si cœlo ipso emitterentur? Verùm hæc est (quis crederet?) Abstracta Notio Synodorum, quæ in inconspicua Idearum Republica coguntur; non imago earum, quæ inter miseros mortales olim congregatæ fuere. Reges ignari (non legent hæc Mohammedani, nec Ethnici, sed ii quorum scire interest, quo fiet ut verum aperte proloquar) Reges, inquam, ignari,



nec inter bonos principes numerandi, convocarunt Græculos, qui linguæ acundæ per totam vitam operam dederant, rerum ipsarum ignaros, contendendi studiosos, perpetuis rixis inter se divisos; et bardos aliquot homines ex occidente, rudiores quidem illos, sed non meliores; iique post pudendas contentiones, obscurissima quædam dogmata, verbis sæpe parum aptis, auctoritate sua firmant; quæ stupidi populi sine examine adorent, quasi divinitus accepta. Non ficta me loqui norunt qui Synodorum historias legerunt; nec certe vanus erat Gregorius Nazianzenus, qui dixit;

Οὐδέ τί πρ σιωδoισιν ὁμόθρονος ἔδοσι' ἔγωγε,  
 Χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἀκρίτα μαρναμένων.  
 "Ενθ' ἔρρι, ἔνθα μόθος τε, καὶ αἰχρεα κρυπτά  
 πάροινεν,

Εἰς ἓνα δυσμρέων χῶρον ἀγειρόμενα.

*Nunquam ego sedebo in Synodis anserum  
 aut gruuum temere pugnantium. Illic contentio,  
 illic rixa, et probra antea latentia sævorum hominum in unum locum collecta.*

Visne



Visne aliam Notionem Abstractam? Lege quæ de *Ecclesia repræsentativa*, ut solet vocari, a plurimis olim et nuper scripta sunt; illâ nihil sanctius, nihil doctius, nihil amantius veri excogitari potest. Sed cave ne Abstractæ Notioni similem ullam in rerum natura quæras, nisi frustra esse velis. Si rem in qua reperiri oporteret, quod tantis laudibus ornatur, inspicias, delabêris forte ad opinionem Gasparis Scioppii, insignis Grammatici, qui *Ecclesiam repræsentativam* definiebat, *mandram, sive gregem, aut multitudinem jumentorum, sive asinorum*; et benigne atque amice locutum esse judicabis, quod *ferarum* non dixerit. Nec aliter de iis sensit Josephus Scaliger, cujus est hoc insigne judicium, in *Scaligeranis*: *Christianis Orientalibus Græcis, Syris, hodie nihil pejus; et olim Episcopi Græci fuerunt nequissimi et superbissimi. Eorum Concilia fuerunt meræ conspirationes. Latina Ecclesia longe honestius se gessit, quamvis intus multa et clam pessime fecerint.* Clericus *Art. Crit.* i. p. 430.

This description of *General Councils* gave offence to many persons, whose reverence for these Assemblies was at least as great as Le Clerc's and Scaliger's disregard. But thus much is certain, that by paying little deference to General Councils few inconveniences arise, compared with those which inevitably follow a blind and tame submission, in points of faith, to human decisions, and to *Public Wisdom*, as some of our Controversial Doctors have loved to call it, which may be *Public Folly*.

*Public Wisdom* is a mere *Proteus*, and, not to consider it in Pagan or Mohammedan countries, amongst the Jews it once was the wisdom of Ahab and Jezebel, and afterwards of Annas and Caiaphas; and in Christian Regions it hath appeared in an hundred shapes. It sets out with a great shew of religion: it begins with *the Gospel according to St. Matthew*; and it often ends in *the Gospel according to Mr. Hobbes*.

Ecclesiastical Government, in some form, is absolutely necessary, without which no discipline and order can be preserved, and no religious society can well subsist, and which none can be more willing to obey than I am: Yet, *Call no man your Father upon earth; for one is your Father, who is in heaven. Neither be ye called Masters; for one is your Master, even Christ.*

*Deus dedit omnibus pro virili portione sapientiam; --- nec quia nos illi temporibus antecesserunt, sapientia quoque antecesserunt. Quæ si omnibus æqualiter datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non potest. --- Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa Majorum probant, et ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit, quod Majorum nomine posito, non putant fieri posse ut aut ipsi plus sapiant, quia Minores vocantur, aut illi desipuerint, quia Majores nominantur. Lactantius Div. Inst. ii. 7.*

Valesius is a strenuous defender of the sacred authority of General Councils. *Quid per spirituales legem [τῇ πνευματικῇ νομοθεσίᾳ] Theodoritus intelligat, obscurum*

*est. Ego Nicænæ Fidei Symbolum intelligi puto, quo definitum est, Filium Patri consubstantialem esse. Decreta enim Synodorum, leges sunt Spiritus Sancti. Nota sunt verba Apostolorum quæ leguntur in Actibus, cap. xv. Visum est enim Spiritui Sancto et nobis, etc. Ad Theodor. v. 13.*

Valesius was obliged to maintain such principles, or to give up his religion; and every Protestant who admits these principles, ought by all means to admit the conclusion, and to go over to the Church of Rome.

The fourth General Council, of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. was also divinely inspired and infallible, as we learn from no less a voucher than *Symeon Stylites*. — διὸ καὶ γὰρ — ἐγνώρισα τὴν ἐμὴν πρόθεσιν, τὴν περὶ τὴν πίσιν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Καλχηδόνι Συνεληλυθότων ἑξακοσίων ἑξήκοντα, ἐμμελῶν καὶ ὑποσημαζόμενων ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Πνεύματος Φανερωθείσης. εἰ γὰρ μετὰ δύο ἢ τριῶν Συνελθόντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν, πάρεσιν ὁ Σῶηρ, πῶς μετὰ πλείονων καὶ τηλικούτων ἁγίων πατέρων ἐνεχώρει, εἰ



εἰ μὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα; Quapropter ego --- animi mei sententiam significavi, de fide sexcentorum triginta sanctorum Patrum qui Chalcedone congregati sunt, persistens et fundatus in ea fide quæ a Spiritu Sancto revelata est. Et enim si Servator noster, ubi duo tresve in nomine ipsius congregati sunt, adest in medio illorum, quomodo fieri posset inter tot et tantos sanctos Patres, ut Spiritus Sanctus cum illis non esset?

Thus saith Symeon, *apud Evagrium* ii. 10. The honest Monk talks like an inhabitant of the *middle region*, who lived upon *his pillar*, and knew little of what passed below. The Patrons of this doctrine are able to produce a large number of Symeons, and of ancient and modern teachers, who all agree in voting for the inspiration of Synods, for it is a much easier thing to find *Monks* than *Reasons*; but the former without the latter will be of small service to them.

After all, It hath happened sometimes that one Council hath contradicted an-



other ; and this creates a terrible difficulty, out of which neither Valesius nor Symeon himself can extricate us.

We have a more certain rule by which we may judge of Councils, a rule given us by our Master, *By their fruits ye shall know them.* We need only survey their acts and monuments, their behaviour, doctrines, decrees, and censures, and compare them impartially with the morality, the simplicity, the prudence, the charity, and the piety of the Gospel. By this method we may form a tolerable idea of them, though amongst the Fathers of those centuries there was no *Father Paul* to do them justice, and to give us an account of their proceedings.

“ *Athanasius* was made Bishop, and  
 “ successor to Alexander, because whilst  
 “ he was Deacon he had strenuously op-  
 “ posed Arius. Philostorgius relates ma-  
 “ ny things of him not at all to his cre-  
 “ dit, which perhaps are not more to be  
 “ received than the reports of the Homo-  
 “ ousians concerning Arius, nor yet more  
 “ to

“to be rejected, since prejudice and partiality were very prevalent on both sides.

“A. D. 330. The Nicene Council by its determinations A. D. 325. could not appease the dissensions. Great were the contests and the quarrels in Ægypt between the Arians and the Athanasians, and the Homœousian writers so represented the affair, as to favour the latter, and to condemn the former in all points.

“This year a tumult was raised at Antioch on account of the controversy.

“A. D. 335. Athanasius was condemned by a Council held at Tyre, for having obtained the see of Alexandria by unjustifiable methods, and for other and worse misdemeanours, if Philostorgius may be credited, ii. 11. This historian, though a favourer of the Arian cause, yet freely censures Arius where he thought him reprehensible, and therefore might be a fair relator of other points.

“In

74 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ In the following year Athanasius  
“ was accused again by the same Bishops  
“ who had condemned him at Tyre, and  
“ who were now assembled at Constan-  
“ tinople, and the Emperor Constantine  
“ banished him into Gaul.

“ About this time died Arius, by a  
“ wonderful judgment of God, as his ad-  
“ versaries afterwards said. But quarrels  
“ ran so high in those days, that there is  
“ no confiding in the reports of either  
“ party.

“ A. D. 341. Athanasius who had  
“ been honourably recalled from banish-  
“ ment by Constantine the younger, was  
“ condemned and deposed by the Coun-  
“ cil of Antioch <sup>k</sup> consisting of about an  
“ hundred Bishops, of whom a third  
“ part were Arians, and <sup>1</sup> Gregory of  
“ Cappadocia was put in his place.

<sup>k</sup> See the remarks of Pagi, in Socrates, p. 84.  
not. a.

<sup>1</sup> Who came in like a tyrant, and committed  
many outrages.

“ Julius

*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.* 75

“ Julius Bishop of Rome called a  
“ Council, and acquitted Athanasius and  
“ condemned the Council of Antioch.

“ Athanasius then returned to Alex-  
“ andria.

“ Macedonius was appointed Bishop  
“ of Constantinople, and Hermogenes  
“ the Præfect endeavoured to put him in  
“ possession, and to drive out Paul; but  
“ Hermogenes was murdered by the  
“ Athanasian populace, who wanted to  
“ have Paul for their Bishop.

“ The Arians, in their Council at An-  
“ tioch, had made a Creed and left out the  
“ ὁμολογίαι. After this they proposed a new  
“ Confession of faith, which was said to  
“ have been the Creed of <sup>m</sup> Lucian the

<sup>m</sup> Lucian was highly honoured by the Arians, and some of the most celebrated Bishops of that party, as Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris, Theognis, Leontius, *etc.* are said to have been his disciples. Philostorgius relates that the body of this Martyr was brought to Nicomedia by a dolphin, the very dolphin, I suppose, who carried Arion up-

“ Martyr,



76 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ Martyr, who was of the same senti-  
 “ ments which were afterwards held by  
 “ Arius, as Alexander of Alexandria and  
 “ Philostorgius testify.

“ In this Creed the Arians, avoiding  
 “ the word *Consubstantial*, call the Son  
 “ ἄρρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον τῷ Θεότητι, *Q*,  
 “ ἑσίας τε ἔβλητος καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης  
 “ ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα, καὶ πρωτότερον πάσης  
 “ κτίσεως. *immutabilem et conversioni non*  
 “ *obnoxium ad divinitatem quod attinet,*  
 “ *essentiæ vero, consilii, et potentiæ Pa-*  
 “ *tris immutabilem imaginem, primogeni-*  
 “ *tum omnis creaturæ.*

“ Valesius translates ἀπαράλλακτον *nul-*  
 “ *latenus discrepantem*; but though the  
 “ word is often to be found in that  
 “ sense, it signifies also *immutabilem*. This  
 “ induces me to think that they had a  
 “ mind to draw up a Creed in expressions  
 “ which might be <sup>n</sup> approved by both

on his back, and who had the same affection for  
 Saints as for Musicians.

<sup>n</sup> This confession of faith is Catholic, says Du  
 Pin, although the word *Consubstantial* be not in it.  
 B. E. ii. p. 325.

“ parties,



“ parties, an expedient often practised in  
“ this controversy.

“ A. D. 347. Constans called a Coun-  
“ cil at Sardica. Three hundred and se-  
“ venty Bishops were assembled, and  
“ most of them being Homoeousians, A-  
“ thanasius was acquitted. But the Arian  
“ Prelates withdrawing themselves, met  
“ at Philippi, and there made contrary  
“ decrees, which also were called Sardi-  
“ cian. Nor would Athanasius have  
“ been recalled to Alexandria, if Con-  
“ stantius, moved by the threatening let-  
“ ters of his brother Constans, and for  
“ the sake of peace, had not given his  
“ consent to it, two years after the  
“ Council of Sardica.

“ A. D. 350.° A Council was held at  
“ Sirmium, in which Photinus was con-  
“ demned. The Bishops who met there  
“ were almost all of them <sup>p</sup>Arians, yet

° A. D. 351. Cave. See Socr. ii. 29. and the  
notes.

<sup>p</sup> Cave says, *Semiarrians*.

“ were

78 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ were their Canons received like those  
“ of other Councils.

“ A. D. 357. Many Homoiousians  
“ were banished, and amongst them  
“ Liberius Bishop of Rome, and o-  
“ ther Bishops. Liberius after having  
“ remained two years in banishment,  
“ subscribed to the condemnation of  
“ Athanasius, and published a confes-  
“ sion of faith, in which, leaving out  
“ the word *ὁμοούσιος*, he declared the  
“ Son to be like the Father in all  
“ things.

“ At this time the Arians began to be  
“ distinguished and divided. Part of  
“ them were Homoiousians, and part A-  
“ nomœans. The first said that the Son  
“ was altogether *ὁμοούσιος*, of like sub-  
“ stance, with the Father; the second,  
“ that he was *ἀνόμοιος*, unlike, or differ-  
“ ent, or unequal. Such was the dif-  
“ ference between the Arians, if we may  
“ trust to the accounts of ancient wri-  
“ ters.

“ In

“ In the Council of Ancyra, the Anomœans were condemned, and it was  
“ decreed that two Councils should be  
“ called, one for the Eastern Churches,  
“ at Seleucia, another for the Western,  
“ at Ariminum.

“ A. D. 359. At Seleucia the Homoi-  
“ ousians and the Anomœans contended,  
“ the latter were overpowered.

“ Four hundred Bishops were assem-  
“ bled at Ariminum, of whom about a  
“ fourth part were Arians, where, after  
“ much wrangling and many delays, most  
“ of them subscribed to a Creed, in which  
“ it was only said that the Son of God  
“ was not a creature, like other crea-  
“ tures.

“ A. D. 360. Macedonius, who was  
“ driven away from Constantinople, is  
“ said to have published his notions con-  
“ cerning the Holy Ghost. With the rest  
“ of the Arians he denied the consub-  
“ stantiability of the Son, and only said  
“ that he was like the Father ; but he

80 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ positively affirmed that the Holy Ghost  
“ was κτιστὸν, *created*. His successor was  
“ Eudoxius, an Anomœan, who had  
“ been Bishop of Antioch, on whose re-  
“ moval, great dissensions arose at Anti-  
“ och. Some followed Eustathius who  
“ had been deposed in the year 330.  
“ Others joined themselves to Meletius,  
“ who had been ordained by the favourers  
“ of Eudoxius, and who had deserted Ari-  
“ anism, whilst a third party, who were  
“ Arians shunned them both, and had  
“ Euzoius for their Bishop.

“ A. D. 363. The Arians, the Semi-  
“ arians, (so they called the Homoi-  
“ ousians) and the Consubstantialists  
“ were quarreling and contending every  
“ where, particularly in the Eastern  
“ parts, and the Emperor Valens favour-  
“ ed and supported the Arians.

“ Gregory and Basil, who had led a  
“ monastic life, left their retirement, to  
“ oppose the progress of Arianism.” *Lé*  
*Clerc*, Compend. Hist.

“ A. D.



A. D. 364. Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, a man much esteemed for learning and piety, gave rise to a new sect. He thought perhaps that, Christ being *one*, it was impossible that *two persons* could be so united in him as to make *one person*. Thence (as some say) he concluded that in Christ the Λόγος supplied the place of an human soul. It is to be supposed that the Arians either were of the same opinion, or came into it and adopted it. Theodoret says; *Simon, Basilides, Valentinus, Bardesanes, etc. acknowledged Jesus Christ to be God, but said that he was only man in appearance; the Arians held that the Word in Christ supplied the place of a soul. Apollinaris taught that the Word was united to a<sup>n</sup> living body, but a body not animated with a reasonable soul; Photinus, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Paul of Samosata said that Christ was a mere man.* Epist. 104.

This may suffice for a summary ac-

<sup>n</sup> Σῶμα ἐμψυχον. corpus præditum animâ sensitivâ.



count of the Athanasian and Arian controversy, during the first forty years.

The Pagans who were by-standers in the times when this controversy was so warmly agitated, could not be much edified, or much disposed to embrace Christianity, when they saw its professors at such implacable variance. This made Ammianus Marcellinus say, that no wild beast was so cruel an enemy to man as most of the Christians were to each other. Julian, says he, knew their quarrelsome temper, *nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus.* xxii. 5.

The Alexandrians, a people ° naturally satirists, jesters and buffoons, and

° The Romans were fond of purchasing Alexandrian boys for slaves, because they were spritely, witty, and extremely impudent. See Statius *Silv.* ii. i. 72. and v. v. 66. and the Commentators.

The poet Claudian was an Alexandrian, and his works are generally either panegyrics or satires, but he shines most in the latter, as appears from his two books against Eutropius.

the

the most quarrelsome and seditious of all mankind, those I mean who were Pagans, were highly entertained with these debates, and made them the subject of constant ridicule and drollery in their theatres. *Euseb. Vit. Const. ii. 61.* They were doubtless of the same opinion with Shaftsbury and his facetious Disciples, that *Ridicule is the only test of Truth.*

For an instance of their national temper and turn of mind, when king Agrippa came to Alexandria, A. D. 38. the Alexandrians, who hated him because he was a Jew, and envied him because he was a king, contrived to set up a rival against him. They took a poor mad-man, who used to run naked about the streets, and hung a mat over his shoulders by way of robe, and put a paper diadem on his head, and a cane in his hand. When they had thus equipped him, they set him up on a bench in the most conspicuous place in the city; some with sticks on their shoulders stood round him as his

guards, others knelt down before him, bringing informations or complaints, or begging favours, whilst all the populace shouted, and called him Royal Master. *Philo* in *Flacc.* p. 970. Ed. Par.

Elias Cretensis, in his Commentaries on Gregory Naz. p. 316. says that the Alexandrians *Ethnicum quendam hominem insigniter impudicum, veste detracta, pudendisque nudatis, in Antistitis solio collocarunt, tanquam si Antistes aliquis foret. Ille vero Doctoris larvam præ se ferens, in religionem Christianam invehebatur, commico eam risu exhibilans, et contrariam ei doctrinam proponens.*

He took this from Theodoret: *Quendam ex suo numero notissimæ turpitudinis, qui una cum veste pudorem simul exuerat, nudum sicut natus erat, in Ecclesiæ solio collocantes, Concionatorem infamem adversus Christum salutarunt. Nam divinorum verborum loco, turpitudinem proferebat: pro gravibus verbis petulantiam; pro pietate impietatem; pro continentia scortationem, adulterium, masculam venerem, furtum,*

*furtum, escam et potum vitæ hominum utilia esse docens. E. H. iv. 22.*

But, to leave the profane scurrilities of the Alexandrians, and to return to what is serious, and very serious, let us hear the judgment of Erasmus: *Quid cogitabunt (a fide Christiana alieni) si viderint rem usque adeo difficilem esse, ut nunquam satis discussum sit quibus verbis de Christo sit loquendum? perinde quasi cum moroso quopiam agas Dæmone, quem in tuam ipsius perniciem evocaris, si quid te fefellerit in verbis præscriptis, ac non potius cum clementissimo Servatore, qui a nobis præter puram simplicemque vitam nihil exigit. Epist. 329.*

For these and such remarks, Erasmus was frequently accused of Arianism by his enemies. Erasmus, as Le Clerc observes, *Arianismi ab illius ævi Monachis, aliisque non melioribus, insimulatus est; quasi nimio fuisset ingenio, quam ut orthodoxus esse posset.*

Scripture, say the Protestants, is the only rule of faith in matters pertaining to revealed religion, and they say well.



86 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

There is no other Christianity than this ; no other test of doctrines than this ; no other centre of union than this. Whatsoever is not *clearly* delivered there, may be *true*, but cannot be *important*. HÆC MEA EST SENTENTIA, NEQVE ME EX EA VLLIVS VNQVAM AVT DOCTI AVT INDOCTI MOVEBIT ORATIO.

If when the quarrel between Alexander and Arius was grown to such an height as to want a remedy, the Fathers of the Church had, for the sake of peace, agreed to draw up a <sup>p</sup> Confession of faith in words of Scripture, and to establish the divinity of Christ in the expressions used by the Apostles, every one might have assented to it, and the Arian party would most certainly have received it. The difference of sentiments indeed and of interpretation would not have ceased, but the controversy would have cooled and dwindled away, after every cham-

<sup>p</sup> It had been better to have dropped and dismissed the question, but perhaps this was impracticable, *in tantis animorum incendiis*.



pion had discharged his zeal upon paper, and had written to his heart's content. The Arian notion, that *the Son was created in time*, and that *there was a time when he existed not*, would probably have sunk, as not being the language of the New Testament, and the Macedonian notion, that the Holy Ghost *was created in time*, would have sunk with the other, for the same reason; at least, these opinions would never have been obtruded upon us, as Articles of Faith.

One remarkable difference may be observed between the Creeds which were proposed upon this occasion. The Consubstantialists drew up their Creed with a <sup>9</sup> view to exclude and distress the Ari-

<sup>9</sup> Auctor ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediensis Epistolâ suâ prodidit dicens: *Si verum, inquit, Dei Filium et increatum dicimus, homoousion cum Patre incipimus confiteri.* Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum in Tractatu Fidei posuerunt Patres, quod viderunt Adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefandæ caput Hæreseos amputarent. *Ambrosius de Fid. ad Grat. L. iii. 7.*

ans: the Arians had no design to distress the Consubstantialists, but usually proposed Creeds to which Athanasius himself might have assented; so that if the Compilers were Arians, their Creeds were not Arian.

The Semiarians agreed with the Arians in rejecting the word *ὁμοούσιον*, but differed from them in carrying the perfections and the dignity of the Son higher than the Arians did, and in affirming that he was *ὁμοιούσιον*, of *like* substance, and *like* to his Father in all things.

If Christ be God the Word, who had glory with the Father before the world was, who was in the beginning, who was before all things, by whom all things were made, *etc.* the *coeternity* of the *Λόγος* with the Father appears to be a natural and unforced consequence.

The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to have been of this opinion: he uses a typical argument from the *cxth Psalm*, and draws a parallel between Melchisedec and Christ, intending perhaps

to intimate that what Melchisedec was figuratively or typically, that Christ was really and truly. Now Melchisedec *had neither beginning of days nor end of life*, nothing being recorded in Sacred Writ concerning his birth or his death : consequently the Son of God hath in reality *neither beginning of days, nor end of life.*

Dr. Clarke judged it more reasonable to admit, than to reject, the eternity of the Son. “ It cannot be denied (says this excellent writer) “ that the terms “ SON, and BEGET, do most properly “ and necessarily imply *an act of the Father’s will.* For whatsoever any person is supposed to do, not by *his power and will*, but by *mere necessity* of nature, it is not indeed *He* that *does* it at all, in any true propriety of speech, “ but *Necessity* only. Nor can it intelligibly be made out, upon what is “ founded the *authority* of the Father in “ the *mission* of the Son, if not upon the “ Son’s thus deriving his being from the “ Father’s incomprehensible power and “ will.

“ will. HOWEVER, since the attributes  
 “ and powers of God are evidently as  
 “ *eternal* as his being, and there never  
 “ was any time wherein God could not  
 “ *will* what he pleased, and *do* what he  
 “ *willed*, and since it is just as easy to  
 “ conceive God *always acting* as *always*  
 “ *existing*, and *operating* before all ages,  
 “ as easily as *decreeing* before all ages, it  
 “ will not at all follow, that That which  
 “ is an effect of his *will* and *power*, must  
 “ *for that reason* necessarily be limited to  
 “ any definite time. Wherefore not only  
 “ those ancient writers who were esteem-  
 “ ed *Semiarrians*, but also the learnedest  
 “ of the Fathers of the *contrary* side,  
 “ even they who carried up the genera-  
 “ tion of the Son the highest of all, did  
 “ still nevertheless expressly assert it to  
 “ be an act of the Father’s *power* and  
 “ *will* ---

“ The notion of the *eternity* of the  
 “ Son is not indeed clearly revealed in  
 “ Scripture; but it seems most probable  
 “ that God (ὁ Παντοκράτωρ) did *always*  
 “ exercise



“ exercise, in some manner or other, his  
“ *Eternal Power and Will* —

“ “ Almost all the old Philosophers,  
“ who held the *eternity* of the world,  
“ did not thereby mean that it was *self-*  
“ *existent, etc.*

See Clarke’s *Second Reply to W. Obs.*  
vii.

Le Clerc, who often declared a dislike  
both of the Arian and of the Consubstantial  
system, thus delivers his opinion of  
Clarke’s *Scripture Doctrine, etc.*

Le Clerc hath observed, that Christians, forsaking the notions of the Consubstantialists and of the Arians, had come by degrees to a right way of thinking concerning the *unity* of God, namely, that God is *one* in the strictest sense, of one simple, numerical, individual essence, and that the Son and the Holy Ghost are not beings, or essences, or substances, but *modifications, manieres d’être*, of the Divine essence or substance.

The doctrine of a *modal, nominal, ideal* Trinity terminates unavoidably in the doctrine of *one* Divine *Person* variously manifesting himself. Whether Le Clerc saw and admitted this consequence, I cannot say. He seems to have fluctuated, on this matter. See his *Life of Eusebius*.

“ Dr.



“ Dr. Clarke’s doctrine seems to be  
 “ the same with that of the Nicene  
 “ Council, excepting that he uses not the  
 “ word *Consubstantial*. It is not there-  
 “ fore to be wondered that he should  
 “ have produced so many passages from  
 “ the Ancient Fathers in favour of his  
 “ hypothesis. They who pretend that  
 “ the Nicene Council should be the rule  
 “ of our faith, ought by no means to  
 “ censure Dr. Clarke, if they understand  
 “ what that Council meant.” *Bibl. Choisf.*  
 xxvi. 419.

It is affirmed by some learned Writers in this controversy, that *eternal generation*, or *derivation*, implies a *manifest contradiction*. This was also the notion of Arius, who concluded that because the Son received his existence from the Father, therefore there must have been a time when he was not. They who say so, are obliged, by unavoidable consequence, to maintain this most unphilosophical assertion, That the Father and First Cause, who hath been what he is, supremely

supremely wise, good, and powerful, from all eternity, yet could not act, and exert his wisdom, goodness, and power from all eternity. But this is what they can never prove: and the contrary opinion, namely the eternal agency of the Almighty, is far more reasonable, and is attended with no other difficulties than those which equally attend a *past eternity*.

*The eternal generation of the Word is not found in Scripture, nor is he called the Son of God upon any account antecedent to the incarnation.* So says Dr. Bennet, and so say some other writers on both sides of the Controversy. Yet there are expressions in the New Testament, from which, I think, it may be collected that our Saviour was *Son* of God before his earthly nativity. But (howsoever that be) since there is one God and *Father* and *First Cause* of all, the difference between *Son* of God, and *Word* of God is to us nominal and imperceptible, and both certainly imply a *derivation*.

St. John says that all things were made by the *Word*, St. Paul says that God made all things by his *Son*; whence it appears that the *Word*, and the *Son*, are one and the same person, receiving his existence from one and the same Father.

One of the texts on which the Ancients founded the generation of the *Son* before his incarnation, is in *Psalms* cx. 3. according to the LXX. *Before the morning star I begat thee*: a text which certainly is full to the purpose, if we admit this ancient translation of it to be right, and our present Hebrew text to want emendation.

To settle the controversial bounds between the Arians, the Semiarians, and the Athanasians or Consubstantialists of those days, and to determine how far they agreed, and how far they differed, and how far they were or were not consistent with themselves, is, if not an impossibility, yet certainly a very difficult task. They were not to be blamed for  
their

their inquiries about this subject ; their disputes with Jews and Pagans must have unavoidably led them into it : but they should not have reviled and persecuted one another, or required an assent, under pain of excommunication, banishment, infamy, and beggary, to expressions not used by Sacred Writers. Is this the reverence and respect which ought to be paid to the Holy Scriptures ?

Our Saviour is represented as submitting to sufferings and to death for our sakes, and then exalted by his Father to the highest glory and dominion ; and because in a submission to transient sufferings so amply rewarded there might seem to be no great example of compassion and condescension, and of that *love which passeth knowledge*, therefore the Writers of the New Testament have given us some account of his antecedent condition, and inform us that he who was *rich* became *poor* for our sakes, and quitted a state of splendor and happiness, and *hum- bled and emptied himself*, ἐκένωσε ἑἑταπεινώθη



96 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

νωσεν ἑαυτὸν, when he became man. This leads us directly to inquire into the dignity of his nature, concerning which, after all our inquiries, we can know no more than the Holy Scriptures have told us ; and from those passages it seems (to me at least) to be a fair inference, that *the Son possessed from all eternity all that the infinite love and infinite power and infinite wisdom of the Father could communicate.*

But here it will be asked perhaps, What was the doctrine of the Nicene Fathers? and what did they mean by *Consubstantiality*?

It is impossible to answer this question without using *Logical* and *Metaphysical* terms.

By the word ὁμοῦσις, they meant, not of *the same* numerical or individual substance, but of *the same* <sup>s</sup> generical sub-

<sup>s</sup> That ὁμοῦσις means of *one substance in kind*, hath been shewed by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, Clark, etc. and to prove it would be *actum agere*.

*stance*



*stance or subsistence.* As amongst men, a son is ὁμοῦσιος with his father, that is, *of the same human nature*; so, in <sup>t</sup> their opinion, the Son of God is ὁμοῦσιος with the Father, that is, *of the same divine nature.*

By this word therefore they intended to express *the same kind of nature*, and so far a *natural equality.*

But, according to them, this *natural equality* excluded not a *relative inequality*; a *majority* and *minority*, founded upon the everlasting difference be-

<sup>t</sup> Ὁμοῦσιος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Θεότητι, καὶ ὁμοῦσιος ἡμῖν καὶ τῷ ἀνθρωπότητι. *of one substance with the Father, as to his divinity, and of one substance with us, as to his humanity.* Concil. Chalcedonense. So say the writers of the fifth century who were called orthodox: but they who speak thus, must have understood by ὁμοῦσιος, *of one substance in kind*, if we suppose them to have had any ideas affixed to their words, and to have been consistent with themselves, which is more indeed than I would affirm.

tween giving and receiving, causing and being caused.

They had no notion of distinguishing between *person* and *being*, between an *intelligent agent*, and an *intelligent active substance*, *subsistence*, or *entity*.

When they said that the Father was God, they meant that he was God *of himself*, *originally*, and *underived*, Θεὸς αἰώνητος, and ὁ Θεός.

When they said that the Son was God, they meant that he was God by *generation* or *derivation*, Θεὸς γεννητός.

The *Unity* of God they maintained, and they defended it, first, by considering the Father as the First Cause, the only Underived and Self-existing; secondly, by supposing an intimate, inseparable, and incomprehensible union, connection, indwelling, and co-existence, by which the Father was in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and thirdly, by saying that in the Father and the Son there was an unity of will, design, and consent,

consent, and one divine power and dominion, originally in the Father, and derivatively in the Son.

Such seems to have been their system, and my design is, barely to represent it, and to do it justice.

In process of time Christians went into a notion that the Son was *ταυτώσιος* and *μονόσιος*, of the same individual substance with the Father, and with the Holy Spirit; and they seem to have done this, with a view to secure the doctrine of the unity.

The School-men took up the subject, and treated it in their way, which they called *explaining*, and which men of sense call *impenetrable jargon*.

Of all the modern writers upon this controversy, they who have undertaken to prove the doctrine of the Trinity by *Cabbalism* have talked in the most singular manner; though, I doubt not, with

very honest and upright intentions.

A notable specimen of this way of talking is produced in *Clarke's Letter to Wells*. The Author, whosoever he was, informs us, that *Job* xii. 12. *with the ancient is wisdom*, means *With the Father and the Son is the Holy Spirit*; that the *maid* in *Job* xxxi. 1, 2. is the *Virgin Mary*; that Christ *sent himself*, and consequently *prayed and returned thanks to himself, interceded with himself*, etc. that *whilst he was upon earth, the kingdom of heaven was held in commission, and managed by the Angels*, etc. etc. He should have added to all his proofs the *spurious* text in *1 John* v. 7, *There are three that bear record*, etc. which is still maintained in bold defiance to the fullest and clearest evidence against it.

One Meyer wrote a Book, *De Myste-  
rio S. S. Trinitatis ex solius Veteris Testa-  
menti Libris demonstrato*. The text which  
he urges as the most clear and conclusive  
of all, is *Deut.* vi. 4. *Hear, O Israel,*  
4 the

*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.* 101  
*the Lord our God is one Lord:* in which  
he is not at all singular, many of his  
Cabbalistic brethren having made the  
same remark on the same text.

Rabbi Judah hath preserved a tradition,  
that the ancient Jews in their Liturgy,  
used this form of prayer, *I and HE, save,*  
*I pray:* and this *Galimatias* is a mystical  
representation of the Trinity, according  
to some persons who were learned men,  
but too much addicted to Rabbinism.  
See Jac. Alting *Gram. Hebr.* Exerc. iii.  
and Vitringa in *Jesai.* xliii. p. 469.

The famous Postellus observed that  
there were *eleven thousand* proofs of the  
Trinity, in the Old Testament, interpret-  
ed rightly, that is, ἐτυμολογικομυστικοκαβ-  
βαλιστικῶς.

“ Your friend (says Clarke to Nelson)  
“ being a sincere and sober-minded man,  
“ has entered only a little way into these  
“ traditionary explications of Scripture ;  
“ but those who have gone far into them,  
“ have given such visionary and Cabb-



“ listical interpretations, especially of the  
 “ Old Testament, as give too sad occa-  
 “ sion for Infidels to look upon all reli-  
 “ gion as enthusiasm, and particularly  
 “ have caused the study of the Hebrew  
 “ language, which of itself is a plain,  
 “ easy, inartificial language, to be brought,  
 “ by men of weak judgment abusing it,  
 “ into the utmost contempt.”

Abbadie, a man of vivacity and of a warm imagination, wrote two Treatises : in the one he proved with much spirit and elegance the truth of Natural and Revealed Religion, in the other he defended the divinity of Christ ; but how ? By laying down his own notion of it, and then arguing that if it was not true, our Saviour was <sup>v</sup> what is too shocking to be named or thought of, and what no Mahometan would call him.

Few controversies have been carried on with less temper and with less pru-

<sup>v</sup> This odious indiscretion hath been frequent amongst Disputers of more zeal than judgment.

dence

dence than this.

Before the fourth century was ended, the Consubstantialists differed and disputed amongst themselves, whether in the Trinity there were three *hypostases*, or one *hypostasis*: part of them held the first, and part, the second opinion; and it hath been supposed by some, that they had notions directly contrary to each other: but the truth is that they only misunderstood one another, and were in reality of the same mind.

For the word ὑπόστασις was ambiguous, and had two senses. In the first sense, *hypostasis* is *the existence of a thing, or the manner in which it exists*; in the second sense it is *the existing thing, or the substance itself*.

Three human souls have only one *hypostasis*, in the first sense, that is, one and the same kind of nature, consisting of intelligence, activity *etc.* but in the second sense they are three *hypostases*, that is, three intelligent active beings.

The Consubstantialists, who said that in the Trinity there was one *hypostasis*, took the word in the first sense, and their brethren who said there were three *hypostases*, took the word in the second sense; and thus the dispute was verbal, and as soon as they came to understand one another, they were reconciled.

In the fourth Century, the Consubstantialists began the persecution, by excommunicating and banishing their adversaries.

After

After the death of Constantine, Constantius persecuted the Consubstantialists; and the Arians under his protection (as afterwards under Valens) were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties, which must have hurt their cause greatly, and have made honest men hold them in abomination.

Julian gave liberty to all the contenders to fight it out in disputation, and recalled those whom Constantius had banished.

Jovian favoured the Consubstantialists during his short reign.

Valentinian, like a wise prince, kept an even hand between both parties, and would not be the tool of either.

Valens at the same time persecuted the Consubstantialists in his dominions.

Gratian and Theodosius oppressed the Arians.

The Arians were also divided into sects which anathematized and plagued each other.

other. But Arianism subsisted, and made a considerable figure for above three hundred years, and was at last destroyed by violence and persecution. See Bayle's *Dict.* ARIUS.

In the fourth century were held thirteen Councils against Arius, fifteen for him, and seventeen for the Semiarians, in all, forty five.

How could the Arians, in the time of Constantius and Valens, bring themselves to such an unchristian persecuting temper? how could they oppress their fellow Christians the Consubstantialists, who, supposing them to have been in an error, fell into it through a religious fear of ascribing too little to their Redeemer, and of not paying him sufficient honour? Can a man love his Saviour, and hate his brother for a mistake of this kind?

And how could the Consubstantialists persuade themselves that an Arian, who perhaps had suffered for professing Christianity in times of distress, who believed  
Christ



Christ to be his Maker, his Saviour, his King, and his Judge, would *chuse* to detract from his dignity, and to offend him in whom he placed all his hopes of salvation? Human nature is not capable of this folly, and if the man was in an error, yet in such a person the error must have been involuntary, a mere defect of the understanding, and not a fault of the will.

A Christian, and a lover of peace, who lived in obscurity, and whose name I cannot tell, stood up, and said;

“ My Brethren, The things to be be-  
“ lieved are few, the things to be done  
“ are many; but you behave yourselves,  
“ as if the reverse of this were true.  
“ St. Paul tells you, *The Grace of God*  
“ *that bringeth salvation, hath appeared*  
“ *to all men; teaching us, that denying*  
“ *ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should*  
“ *live soberly, righteously, and godly in*  
“ *this present world, looking for that blessed*  
“ *hope, and the glorious appearance of the*  
“ *great God, and (of) our Saviour Jesus*  
“ *Christ.*

“ *Christ.* Concerning the nature of *Je-*  
 “ *sus* you can dispute incessantly, and  
 “ concerning the word *Grace* you will  
 “ probably dispute no less ; but the rest  
 “ of the sentence you disregard as  
 “ of small consequence or importance.  
 “ What, I beseech you, must the Jews  
 “ and the Pagans conceive of you and of  
 “ your religion ? And what do the holy  
 “ Angels think, who look down upon  
 “ your contentions ? Those blessed and  
 “ compassionate Spirits pity you, and  
 “ think you mere children. But when  
 “ from contending you proceed to beat-  
 “ ing your fellow-servants, to persecut-  
 “ ing and destroying, they consider you  
 “ as most malicious and wicked children ;  
 “ their pity is changed into indignation,  
 “ and they would strike you dead, if the  
 “ Supreme Governor did not stay their  
 “ hand, and remind them that such dis-  
 “ orders must needs arise, and shall one  
 “ day be rectified.”

So said this *Unknown* ; but behold the  
 consequence ! The Consubstantialists call-  
 ed

ed him an Arian, and the Arians called him a Consubstantialist.

The Nicene Fathers having anathematized the Arians, the Emperor seconded them, and banished Arius and the Bishops who sided with him, and ordered the Books of Arius to be burnt, and added; — *If any man be found to have concealed a copy of those books, and not to have instantly produced it and thrown it into the fire, he shall be put to death. The Lord be with you all.* Socrat. i. p. 32.

Constantine's conduct was variable afterwards; for he certainly understood not this perplexed and obscure controversy, and he acted as he was influenced at different times by the Ecclesiastics of each party, who accused one another not only of heterodoxy, but of being enemies to the Emperor, and of other faults and misdemeanours.

The Creed of Arius, which he delivered to Constantine, and upon which  
the

the Emperor ordered him to be recalled and restored, is thus :

“ We believe in one God, the Father  
 “ Almighty, and in our Lord Jesus  
 “ Christ his Son, begotten of him be-  
 “ fore all ages, God the Word, by whom  
 “ all things were made in heaven and in  
 “ earth, who descended and was incar-  
 “ nate, suffered, arose, and ascended into  
 “ heaven, and will come again to judge  
 “ the living and the dead. We believe  
 “ in the Holy Ghost, the resurrection of  
 “ the flesh, the life to come, and the  
 “ kingdom of heaven, and in one catho-  
 “ lic Church of God dispersed over all  
 “ the earth.

“ This faith we have received from  
 “ the holy Gospels, in which the Lord  
 “ says to his disciples, Go and teach all  
 “ nations, baptizing them in the name  
 “ of the Father and of the Son and of  
 “ the Holy Ghost. If we do not be-  
 “ lieve these things, and truly acknow-  
 “ ledge the Father, the Son, and the  
 “ Holy Ghost, as the whole Catholic  
 “ Church,

*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.* III

“ Church, and the Scriptures teach, to  
“ which we yield an assent in all things,  
“ God is our judge both now and at the  
“ day of judgment,” *etc.* *Socr.* i. 26.  
*Soz.* ii. 27.

Arius died suddenly, A. D. 336. upon which the opinions were various.

Some ascribed it to a violent distemper :

Others to his excess of joy, at finding his affairs in a good situation :

Others called it a judgment :

Lastly, the Arians said that his adversaries had killed him by some wicked arts, *γοητείας* ; and surely it is not impossible that amongst his numerous enemies there might be one who would not scruple to give him a dose, and to send him out of the way.

Athanasius, as we may suppose, accounted it an unquestionable miracle, and a divine judgment upon him for perjury, and uses the same words in which the Scriptures describe the death of Judas.

‘Αλλ’



Ἀλλ' ὅθ' ἐξελθὼν, ὡς περ δίκῳ δὲς, καί-  
 πεσε· Ἐπρηγὴς γρόμῳ, ἐλάκησε μέσῳ.  
*Verum illico egressus, tanquam pœnas lu-*  
*ens, corruit ; et pronus jacens crepuit me-*  
*dius.* Apud *Sozom.* ii. 30.

George Valla, a Professor of Humanity, died in the same manner as was reported of Arius : *Dum corpori vacaturus excrementa cibi dejecit, animam etiam morte subitanea exhalavit.* Such accidents befall one as well as another. See Bayle's Reflections upon it, *Dict. VALLA.*

It is thought by Valesius that the Arius, who was reconciled to the Church at the Council of Jerusalem in 335, was not the more celebrated Arius, but another Ecclesiastic of the same name, and of the same party ; but this opinion is pretty generally rejected. See the notes on *Socr.* i. 33. and *Soz.* ii. 30. and Bayle *Dict. ARIUS. E.*

“ Alexander Bishop of Constantinople  
 “ refused to receive Arius to communion,  
 “ though the Emperor had ordered him  
 “ to do it, and though the Arian Bishops  
 “ were determined to conduct Arius to  
 “ Church

“ Church in spite of Alexander. In this  
“ extremity, not knowing how to act a  
“ consistent part, and to proceed as he  
“ had begun, he shut himself up, as Hi-  
“ story says, in the Church, and there  
“ prayed most devoutly to God, not that  
“ he himself might be instructed what he  
“ should think of these things, and how  
“ he should act, or that Arius might be  
“ converted from his errors, but his  
“ prayer was, *that if the opinions of Arius*  
“ *were true, he himself might not live to*  
“ *see the day when they were to be dis-*  
“ *cussed; and that if he himself was or-*  
“ *thodox, Arius who had been the cause of*  
“ *so many evils, might be punished for his*  
“ *impiety.* A prayer which had so little  
“ charity in it, and by which it appeared  
“ that the Prelate was more solicitous  
“ for his own honour than for the truth,  
“ was however successful, and Arius died,  
“ either on that day or on the day fol-  
“ lowing.” *Le Clerc, Bibl. Univ. x. 474.*

But perhaps the story was made by the  
Athanasians after the event, and the Bi-

shop did not pray in this strange manner.

Nothing had been decreed by the Nicene Council concerning the nature of the Holy Ghost, and no controversy was raised on that subject, till Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, taught that the Holy Ghost was *a creature*. They who afterwards held that notion were called Macedonians, or Marathonians, from one Marathonius Bishop of Nicomedia. The Arians were probably of the same opinion.

The Semiarians assembled a Council at Seleucia, and drew up a Creed, in these words :

“ We acknowledge and believe in one  
 “ God, the Father Almighty, maker of  
 “ heaven and earth, of things visible and  
 “ invisible : We believe also in our Lord  
 “ Jesus Christ, his Son, begotten of him  
 “ *without passion* before all ages, God  
 “ the Word, the only begotten of God,  
 “ (*who is*) Light, Life, Truth, and Wis-

<sup>x</sup> ἀπαθής.

“ dom,

“ dom, by whom all things were made,  
“ in heaven and upon earth, visible and  
“ invisible. We believe that in the end  
“ of ages, to abolish sin, he assumed flesh  
“ of the holy Virgin Mary, and became  
“ man, and suffered for our offences, and  
“ rose again, and was taken up into hea-  
“ ven, and sitteth at the right hand of  
“ the Father, and shall come again with  
“ glory to judge the living and the dead.  
“ We believe also in the Holy Ghost,  
“ which our Lord and Saviour called a  
“ *Paraclete*, and promised to send, and  
“ did send to his disciples after his depar-  
“ ture, by which also he sanctifies all those  
“ in the Church who believe, and are bap-  
“ tized in the name of the Father, and of  
“ the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” *Socr.*  
ii. 40.

Socrates, who was a candid man,  
seems to approve of this Creed, and says ;  
*Ego vero affirmo, si ab initio de Nicæna*  
*fide ita sensissent tum ii qui ante istos vix-*  
*erant, tum qui illos subsecuti sunt, cessatu-*  
*ram fuisse quæstionem omnem et contentio-*

*y Comforter, or, Advocate.*



*nem, nec violentum et rationis expertem  
tumultum in Ecclesia fuisse valiturum.  
Sed quemadmodum ista se habeant, pruden-  
tioribus judicandum relinquo.*

### The Nicene Creed:

“ We believe in one God, the Father  
“ almighty, maker of all things visible  
“ and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus  
“ Christ the Son of God, begotten *and*  
“ only-begotten of the Father; that is,  
“ of the substance of the Father, God  
“ of God, Light of Light, very God of  
“ very God, begotten, not made, con-  
“ substantial with the Father, by whom  
“ all things were made both in heaven  
“ and in earth: who for us men and for  
“ our salvation descended and was incar-  
“ nate, and was made man, suffered,  
“ and rose again the third day, ascended  
“ into the heavens, and will come to  
“ judge the living and the dead. (*We*  
“ *believe*) also in the Holy Ghost.

of, or from, or out of the substance of the Father:  
ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς.

“ The



“ The holy Catholic and Apostolic  
“ Church anathematizes those who say  
“ that there was a time when the Son of  
“ God was not, and that before he was be-  
“ gotten he was not, and that he was  
“ made out of nothing, or out of another  
“ substance or essence, and is created, or  
“ changeable, or alterable.” *Apud Socr.*  
i. 8.

Such was the Nicene Creed, as it stood originally, and before it was interpolated by subsequent Councils. Our Church hath dropped the anathematizing clauses at the end, and one cannot help wishing that the Nicene Fathers had done the same. The Christians in times following were perpetually making anathematisms, even upon the slightest and poorest occasions, and it is really a wonder that they did not at last insert in their Litanies, *We beseech thee to curse and confound the Pelagians, Semipelagians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, Jacobites, Iconoclasts, and all heretics and schismatics.*

ABOUT the time of Constantine, Christian festivals and Holy-days began to take place of Pagan solemnities.

THE COUNCIL of Arles was held A. D. 314. on account of the Donatists. The tenth Canon of this Council exhorts men, whose wives had been convicted of adultery, not to marry again till the adulteress were dead. An unreasonable request.

WHEN Constantine was about to make war with Licinius, there was a wonderful apparition, says Eusebius; several regiments of Constantine's soldiers were seen at noon day marching, as victorious, through the cities belonging to Licinius. Eusebius however had the discretion to introduce the story with a *Φασί*, *they say*, and took care by so doing to affirm nothing that was not true; for without question there were people enough who

who said so. *Vit. Const.* ii. 6. But in his Life of Constantine, he is to be considered as an Orator and a Panegyrist, rather than as an Historian.

Nazarius, who was a Pagan, in his Panegyric of Constantine, mentions such a miracle of an army descending from heaven to assist that Prince against Maxentius. *In ore denique est omnium Galliarum, exercitus visos, qui se divinitus missos præ se ferebant --- Illi cælo lapsi, illi divinitus missi gloriabantur quod tibi militabant.*

*In ore est omnium Galliarum*, quoth he. These Gauls were what the French call *des Temoins Normans*, *Norman Witnesses*.

It is strange, says Le Clerc, that no Christian Author hath mentioned these Angels, whom God sent to assist Constantine, and that Nazarius, who speaks of this miracle, says nothing of that of the Cross. *Bibl. Chois.* iii. 352.

Constantine transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium, which he embellish-

ed, enlarged, and made equal to ancient Rome, and to which he gave his own name; by which he certainly disobliged the Roman Senate and people. This change contributed to weaken the Western part of the Empire, and to bring on its dissolution. But whether it were prudent or no, politically considered, it seems to have been of no moral import; virtue and religion and liberty neither gained nor lost by it; nor in all probability could the Roman Empire have continued entire upon the foot that it was in the time of Constantine, though Rome had remained the unrivalled city, and the usual place of the Emperor's residence.

Constantine had a divine revelation to build Constantinople, says Sozomen, and the Emperor himself <sup>2</sup> affirmed the same

<sup>2</sup> Or seemed to affirm it. *Pro commeditate Urbis, quam aeterno nomine, jubente Deo, donavimus, hæc vobis privilegia credidimus deferenda*, etc. Cod. Th. L. xiii. Tit. v. p. 63. where see Gothofred.



in one of his laws and according to Philostorgius, he declared that he was guided by an heavenly vision in tracing the extent of the new city. In this city no Pagan temples, rites, and ceremonies were permitted, say Eusebius, Sozomen, and Orosius: Zosimus says the contrary. Thus much is certain, that Christianity prevailed far more there than at Rome. *Soz. ii. 3.*

When Constantine went to war, he carried with him a tent, in form of a chapel, where he prayed to God, and had Presbyters and Deacons to perform divine service; and thence began the custom in the Roman army for each Legion to have a Chaplain. *Sozom. i. 8.*

As he was on many occasions generous and liberal, and did so much for the Church, and gave so much to Ecclesiastics, *Soz. i. 8.* he might have extended his favours also to men of letters, but it appears not that he signalized himself that way. In his reign, and in the fourth century, as religious and metaphysical



quarrels ran high, and Monkery grew and prospered, and miracles abounded, so liberal arts and sciences and polite literature fell into a declining condition.

He seems to have been possessed with the *Building Devil*, and spent immense sums upon houses, palaces, and<sup>a</sup> churches; and particularly upon Constantinople. This, and his profuse gifts to some who deserved them, and to others who deserved them not, obliged him to burden his people with taxes.

He built a Church, and dedicated it to the twelve Apostles, and intended to be buried there for the benefit of his soul. *ὡς ἂν καὶ μὲν τελούτων ἀξιώσει τῶν ἐνταυθοῦ μελλουσῶν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀποστόλων ζωοτελείας ὄχων — ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς ὀνησιφόρον τὴν τῶνδε μνήμῳ ποιεῖσθαι ἀπὸ πεισθῶν. quo scilicet precatationum quæ in honorem Apostolorum ibi celebrandæ erant, etiam mortuus parti-*

<sup>a</sup> Joannes Ciampini gives an account of them in a Treatise *De Sacris Aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis.*

*ceps fieret. --- pro certo sibi persuadens, bonum memoriam non parum utilitatis animæ suæ esse allaturam.* Eusebius *Vit. Const.* iv. 60.

These things Eusebius mentions with approbation, and they shew how even such men as he were not free from superstition.

Constantine was perhaps the first Christian who was buried in a Church, which afterwards became a common practice.

There is a story about him in Chrysostom, *T. i. Orat. 20.* related by Flavian, which is much to his credit, that some rioters having done outrage to one of his statues, and they who excited him to revenge and severity having told him, amongst other things, that his face had been pelted with stones, and all over bruised and battered, he put his hand to his face, and said that he did not feel it.

He was neither so good as Christian writers describe him, nor so bad as some Pagans

Pagans represent him. He must have greatly offended the latter, since he not only established Christianity, but began the destruction of Paganism by various discouragements; by shutting up some temples, pulling down some, and stripping others of their Gods and ornaments. He was indeed guilty of several faults, but upon the whole his good qualities may perhaps outweigh the bad. Fleury observes very prettily; *On ne se trompera point sur Constantin, en croyant le mal qu'en dit Eusebe, et le bien qu'en dit Zosime.*

Eutropius hath judged freely of him, and not amiss. *Insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum et sororis filium, omnimodæ indolis juvenem interfecit; mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos. Vir primo imperii tempore optimis Principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. L. x.*

Excessive honours, and little short of divine were paid by the Christians to his  
name,

name, to his tomb, and to his statue, after his death. He was called a Saint, and a Saint equal to the Apostles; and as Proculus forswore himself to make Romulus a God, so Nicephorus had the effrontery to declare that God had endued the urn and the statue of Constantine with miraculous powers, and that whosoever touched them was healed of all diseases and infirmities. The Pagans, who scorned to be less complaisant than the Christians, made him a God. *Philostorg.* ii. 17. *Theodoret* i. 34. *Nicephorus* viii. 55. *Eutropius*.

EUSTATHIUS Bishop of Antioch, a great friend of Athanasius, was deposed by the Synod of Antioch, for Sabellianism, A. D. 327. Some relate, says Socrates, *that it was for other faults which yet they have not mentioned: and indeed it is a custom with our spiritual Rulers, when they depose a man, to load him with general accusations, and to call him irreligious and impious, but never to specify,*



*Specify, and declare particularly of what impiety he is guilty.* Ὡς μὲν ἔν τινες φασίν, δι' ἄλλας οὐκ ἀγαθὰς αἰτίας· φανερώς γὰρ οὐκ εἰρήκασι. τῷτο δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων εἰώθασι τῶν καθαιρουμένων ποιεῖν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, κατηγορεύειν μὲν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν λέγουσιν, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τὴν ἀσεβείαν καὶ προστιθέμεν. i. 24.

Whosoever sits down to examine the state of the Christian world, civil and religious, in the fourth and fifth centuries, if he be not strangely prejudiced, will find his veneration for those days to wear off apace, and, if he lives in a Protestant Country, will learn perhaps to be contented with his own times, which, such as they are, deserve the preference.

RUFINUS, and from him Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, give us an account of the conversion of some <sup>b</sup> Indian

<sup>b</sup> Or of a people of Æthiopia, whose capital was Auxumis. Tillemont hath collected many things concerning Frumentius, H. E. vii. 284. Ludolphus



nations in the time of Constantine, of which the substance is as follows.

These Indians, being at variance with the Romans, slew all the passengers in a ship which put into one of their harbours, except two boys, Frumentius and Ædesius, whom Meropius, a Christian and a philosopher, of Tyre, and a relation of theirs, had taken along with him. These boys were presented to the king of the country, who made Frumentius his secretary, and Ædesius his cup-bearer. The king died, leaving a wife and a young child, and Frumentius administered the affairs of the kingdom, together with Ædesius, during the minority of the young king. Frumentius, inquiring amongst the Roman merchants who traded there, found some Christians, who under his protection assembled together, and

in his *Historia Æthiopica* says, that, according to the Greek, Latin, and Æthiopic writers, the Abyssines were converted by Frumentius, and that Cedrenus and Nicephorus were mistaken in placing the conversion of this people so low as the reign of Justinian.

built

built a Church, and catechized some of the Indians. Frumentius, resigning his office, which he had filled with credit and integrity, got leave to return home with Ædesius, and coming to Alexandria, exhorted Athanasius to send over some Ecclesiastics to that country. He was prevailed upon to go back himself, as the most proper person, and being made a Bishop, he preached the Gospel there with great success, *healing the sick, and working many miracles.* This account Rufinus received from Ædesius, who was returned home to Tyre, and was there a Presbyter of the Church. *Socrates* i. 19. *Sozomen* ii. 24. *Theodoret* i. 23. *Rufinus*.

About the same time the *Iberi* received Christianity, as we learn from Rufinus, and after him from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. The *Iberi* inhabited a country between the Euxine sea and the Caspian, which is now called Georgia. A Christian woman, who was a captive, had gained the esteem and respect

spect of the people by her good behaviour. It was a custom there to carry sick children from house to house, to ask advice of the neighbourhood. A child being brought to her, she put him upon her bed, and prayed for him, and restored him to health. The queen of the country, being very ill, and hearing of this, came to her, and was healed in like manner. The king and the queen offered her great rewards, which she would not accept, but exhorted them to embrace her religion. Thus far the story has a good face, but

*Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*

For the present the exhortations of the female captive had no effect upon the king. Afterwards, as he was hunting in a forest, it grew quite dark on a sudden, and he knew not which way to go, and was in great distress: he called upon Jesus Christ, and the daylight instantly returned. Upon this he sent for the woman, was instructed by her in Christianity, recommended it to his subjects,

jects, and sent for proper teachers to <sup>c</sup>Constantine, who received his messengers with great kindness, and appointed a Bishop to go with them. In the mean time the king erected a church, at the building of which a very improbable miracle is related to have been wrought; a pillar was moved, and raised up, and suspended in the air, by the prayers of the woman. Rufinus says that he had this account from Bacurius. Bacurius was Prince of the *Iberi*, and a general in the Roman service, under Valens and Theodosius, about forty years after the conversion of that people. Zosimus, who was a zealous Pagan, commends him as a very brave and very honest man. Ἐλκων μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὸ γένος, ἔξω δὲ πάσης κακοηθείας ἀνὴρ, μετὰ τῶν τὰ πολεμικὰ πεπαιδευθῶν. L. iv. See *Rufinus*

<sup>c</sup> To this Constantine seems to allude in his Epistle to the Council of Tyre. *Mea certe opera divino Numini inserviente, ubique terrarum pax viget; ipsis etiam Barbaris Dei nomen sincere venerantibus, qui ad hoc usque tempus veritatem ignoraverant* — Socr. i. 34. Soz. ii. 28.



x. 10. *Socrates* i. 20. *Sozomen* ii. 7. *Theodore* i. 24.

As to the facts in these two relations, which are not miraculous, there is no sufficient reason to deny them; but the preternatural part, particularly in the story of the *Iberi*, calls loudly for abatements; however, the occasion, the converting of two nations to Christianity, might be worthy of miracles, such as healing the diseased, and we should rather expect to find them here, than in the dens of Monks, or at the graves of the Martyrs. Eusebius says nothing at all of these transactions.

The miracle of the *pillar* was perhaps borrowed from Pliny; that of the *darkness* from Ovid.

<sup>d</sup> Miracles are now ceased amongst this people, by their own acknowledgment. When the Popish Missionaries tell the Georgians what miracles are still wrought in the Church of Rome, the Georgians answer; That is a lie, for we have none now wrought amongst us. *Galani Historia Armena.*



132 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

*Summa miracula, epistylia tantæ molis attolli potuisse. — Difficillime hoc contigit in limine ipso quod foribus imponebat. Et enim ea maxima moles fuit: nec sedit in cubili, anxio artifice, mortis destinatione suprema. Traduntque in ea cogitatione fessum nocturno tempore in quiete vidisse præsentem Deam, cui templum fiebat, hortantem ut viveret: se composuisse lapidem: atque ita postero die apparuit, et pondere ipso correctus videbatur. He speaks of the temple of the Ephesian Diana. xxxvi.*

21.

*Exierat tecto Laurentes Picus in agros,  
Indigenas fixurus apros —*

*Tum quoque cantato densetur carmine  
cælum,*

*Et nebulas exhalat humus, cæcisque va-  
gantur*

*Limitibus comites, et abest custodia regi.*

*Met. xiv. 342.*

To these Missionaries we may add an Arian Missionary, who flourished about the same time, and whose history is thus delivered by Philostorgius.

Constant

Constantius, like his father Constantine, was very desirous to spread the Gospel in foreign parts. He sent an embassy to a people called \* *Homeritæ*, supposed to have been the ancient Sabæans, and the posterity of Abraham by Keturah, dwelling in Arabia Felix. They circumcised their children on the eighth day, and sacrificed to the Sun, Moon, and Dæmons of the country, and many Jews dwelt amongst them. The Emperor sent magnificent presents to their Prince, and desired he would permit Churches to be built in his dominions for the Roman merchants who resorted thither, and for those natives who should embrace Christianity.

One of the principal ambassadors was Theophilus an Indian, who in his youth had been sent an hostage to Constantine, from the inhabitants of the island Diu, and settling at Rome, led a monastic life, and had a great reputation for

\* See Gothofred on the *Cod. Tb. L. xii. Tit. xii.* p. 582.

sanctity. Eusebius of Nicomedia had ordained him Deacon, and upon this occasion the Arians made him a Bishop. Perhaps, says Valesius, they did this through emulation, and to equal one of their own sect to Frumentius, who had been consecrated and sent to Æthiopia in like manner by Athanasius.

Theophilus preached the Gospel to the *Homeritæ*, was opposed violently by the Jews, whom he put to silence *by working miracles*, converted the king and many of the people, and established Christianity in those parts.

After this he went to Diu, to visit his own country, and passed through many regions of India where the Gospel was already received, and where he rectified some irregularities in practice; for as to matters of faith, there was nothing amiss, says Philostorgius, and they were all of the Arian persuasion.

Thence he went to the Æthiopians called *Auxumitæ*, and settled things pertaining to religion.

Then

Then he returned to Rome, was highly honoured by the Emperor, remained with the title of Bishop, but without any particular Church or Diocese, and was esteemed and beloved by all those of his own sect, as a most excellent and pious man.

*Tradit Philostorgius Auxumitas a Theophilo Ariano conversos tempore Constantii ; cum populi istius conversio revera tribuenda sit Frumentio orthodoxo, ordinato ab Athanasio. Lowth. To contradict Philostorgius, he makes him affirm more than his words imply. Τοῖς Αὐξούμιταις ἡ ὡθρυγυνώδης, καὶ τὰ ἐκείσε καλᾶσησάμυρος, ἡ δὲ Πρωμαίους ἀνακομιδῆς ἔχειτο. Sed cum ad Auxumitas venisset, et cuncta illic negotia probe ordinasset, inde ad Romanorum ditionem redire cœpit. iii. p. 489.*

Constantius, and Gallus his nephew, had sworn friendship and fidelity to each other in the presence of this Theophilus: therefore when Constantius was resolved to destroy Gallus, Theophilus interposed and exclaimed against it, upon which



Constantius banished him. But afterwards, the Emperor's beloved wife being very ill, he had recourse to Theophilus who was reported to work miracles and to heal the sick ; he therefore recalled him, owned his fault, begged pardon, and intreated him earnestly to cure his wife. Theophilus laid his hands upon her, and she recovered. Yet after this, he banished Theophilus a second time, suspecting him to have been a favourer of Gallus.

Theophilus is said to have raised a woman from the dead. *Aiunt etiam eum aliquando Antiochiæ Judæam quandam ex mortuis suscitasse. Id autem affirmat Thallius, qui cum illo diutissime versatus est, et in hujusmodi rebus extra suspicionem est mendacii : et qui alioqui baud paucos habet hujus rei testes qui eodem tempore vixerunt.* So Suidas, who is supposed to have taken it from Philostorgius.

“ Philostorgius says that Theophilus  
 “ the Indian, his pretended Apostle of  
 “ Arianism, having been banished, was  
 “ recalled



“ recalled by Constantius to heal his  
“ wife, and that he did heal her mira-  
“ culously. Photius seems to deride this  
“ miracle by his manner of relating it,  
“ and we know how little credit Philo-  
“ storgius deserves, especially in the mi-  
“ racles which he ascribes to those of his  
“ own sect. But moreover we are affu-  
“ red that the distemper, of which he  
“ says that the Empress was cured by  
“ Theophilus, and which he calls *μυ-  
“ τρομανία*, was the very distemper of  
“ which she died, according to Zonaras.  
“ For though Theophilus (*he should have*  
“ *said*, Philostorgius) names not the Em-  
“ press, there is no question but that he  
“ means Eusebia.” *Tillemont Hist. des*  
*Emp. iv. 677.*

That Photius speaks contemptuously  
of the cure, is more than I can discern.  
See Philostorg. p. 504. I blame not  
Tillemont for rejecting all these miracles,  
which seem to have been rumours raised  
and spread to serve a party ; but the true  
reason of his disbelief is that they were  
Arian

Arian miracles; and if they had been reported concerning Athanasius, all difficulties would have been smoothed over, and accounted of small moment.

UNDER Constantine lived Spyridon, Bishop of a city in Cyprus. Socrates i. 12. and Sozomen i. 11. have recorded some incredible miracles wrought by him, and also his preferring works of charity to the observation of a fast, his giving meat to a weary traveller on a day in Lent, and eating along with him to encourage him.

AGAPETUS, an Arian, was at first a soldier, then a Presbyter, and then Bishop of Synnada. He raised the dead, and healed the sick, and wrought various miracles, and converted a great number of Pagans, if we may believe Philostorgius, p. 481. Eusebius hath made no mention of this Saint.

THE GREATEST of all wonders, which is said to have happened in the days of Constantine, was the discovery of the *true Cross*, which immediately produced the superstitious veneration of it, and ended in the grossest idolatry, in worshipping the very wood. Nothing, says Tillemont, is more certain, for it is attested by Rufinus, Sulpitius Severus, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, Ambrose, Paulinus, and Chrysostom.

*Historia hæc de inventione Sanctæ Crucis non occurrit apud Eusebium. Verum Cyrillus Episcopus Hierosolymitanus, qui eodem seculo vixit, aperte testatur lignum Sanctæ Crucis Imperatori Constantino divinitus ostensum. — item in Catechesi de ejus inventione loquitur, ut de re omnibus nota. Quocirca de Historiæ hujus fide dubitari non potest.* Lowth ad Socrat. i. 17. What did this Protestant Divine of ours mean? Could he believe that the true Cross was found? or would he only say that a pretended one was discovered?

I cannot

I cannot give a better account of this affair, as it stands in Rufinus, *etc.* than in the words of Tillemont, which are extremely well adapted to the story, and full of what the French call *Unction*, and the English, *Canting*. But first we will transcribe a few lines from another Author.

“ It is said that Constantine found the  
 “ Cross of Jesus Christ, and that many  
 “ miracles were wrought by it. And  
 “ yet it is surprising enough, that Euse-  
 “ bius, eye-witness of these transactions,  
 “ who exactly describes all the circum-  
 “ stances in the discovery of the sepulchre  
 “ of Christ, and who forgets nothing  
 “ that could turn to the advantage of re-  
 “ ligion, says not a single word either of  
 “ the Cross, or of the miracles which are  
 “ pretended to have been performed by  
 “ it.” Thus <sup>f</sup> Du Pin, fairly and ho-  
 nestly, *Bibl.* ii. 15. Now for Tillemont :

<sup>f</sup> This worthy man suffered (as such men commonly do) for his frankness and candour. “ The  
 “ Archbishop of Paris published an Ordinance against  
 “ When



“ When Saint Helena the mother of  
“ Constantine, was arrived at Jerusalem,  
“ and had begun to visit the sacred  
“ places, the Holy Ghost inflamed her

“ his *Bibliothèque*, and condemned it, as containing  
“ *several propositions false, rash, scandalous, capable*  
“ *of offending pious ears; tending to weaken the proofs*  
“ *of Tradition for the authority of Canonical Books,*  
“ *and for many other articles of faith; injurious to*  
“ *General Councils; to the Holy Apostolic See, and*  
“ *to the Fathers of the Church; erroneous, and lead-*  
“ *ing to heresy,* respectivè.

“ The Archbishop would rather have had this  
“ Book purged and corrected, but *the evil*, as he  
“ said, *being spread quite through the work*, he judg-  
“ ed it more convenient to condemn and suppress  
“ it, and forbid the reading of it. The Parliament  
“ also suppressed it. But the person of the Author  
“ was spared, because of his absolute submission to  
“ the Ordinance of the Prelate, to whom he pre-  
“ sented a declaration upon twelve heads, signed  
“ with his own hand, in which he acknowledges  
“ that in some points he was mistaken; he ex-  
“ plains himself upon the rest, and confesses that  
“ he had not well expressed his sentiments, nor  
“ sufficiently weighed the terms which he had  
“ used. — This declaration of Du Pin was printed,  
“ together with the Decrees of the Archbishop and  
“ of the Parliament,

“ with

“ with a desire to find the wood of the  
 “ Cross. But there was no person who  
 “ had ever seen it, or could tell where it  
 “ had been hid. She then inquired for

“ I mention not this to hurt the character of his  
 “ Book. On the contrary I am persuaded that all  
 “ men of sense, especially amongst the Protest-  
 “ ants, will only esteem it so much the more.”  
*Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M. iii. p. 194.

The pious ears of the Archbishop of Paris, and  
 of other good souls must have been offended at  
 many free things said by Du Pin, and at the ac-  
 count which he gave of Cyril and of the Council  
 of Ephesus. Every intelligent reader will perceive  
 that he had a bad opinion of this Father, and that  
 he thought him an insolent man; and a miserable  
 scribbler. He sets forth very fairly the objections  
 which may be made to the conduct and the pro-  
 ceedings of the Saint and of the Council; and then  
 he sets himself to remove and invalidate those ob-  
 jections, and he gives as good answers to them as  
 could be given. If his defense was unsatisfactory  
 (as it really is) how could he help it? Matters of  
 fact are of a stubborn nature, and it was not in his  
 power to annihilate them. He might indeed have  
*made History*, in the manner of *Varillas* and *Maim-  
 bourg*, and then he would have been in odour of  
 sanctity, and have enjoyed the favour of his Su-  
 periors.

“ the

“ the place where Christ was crucified,  
“ and found it out by the help of the  
“ Jews and Christians, or, as Rufinus  
“ says, by some revelation; and being  
“ moved by the Holy Spirit, she ordered  
“ the buildings to be pulled down, and  
“ the rubbish to be removed. The faith  
“ of this Female Saint was recompensed  
“ beyond expectation, and upon digging  
“ very deep, they found the holy Sepul-  
“ chre, and near it three crosses, with  
“ the title which had been affixed to the  
“ Cross of Christ, and the nails which  
“ had pierced his sacred body. But still  
“ a difficulty remained, to distinguish  
“ which was the Cross of Christ. Saint  
“ Macarius, who was Bishop of Jerusa-  
“ lem, proposed the method. He was a  
“ Prelate illustrious for his wisdom, and  
“ truly worthy of God, and he had just  
“ then overthrown the heresy of Arius at  
“ the great Council of Nice. This holy  
“ man, knowing that one of the princi-  
“ pal ladies of the city lay extremely ill,  
“ told Helena, that they must carry the  
“ three crosses to the sick person, and beg  
“ of

“ of God that he would cure her by the  
 “ application of the true Cross. The  
 “ Empress and all the people being pre-  
 “ sent, he touched the woman with two  
 “ of the crosses ineffectually ; but as  
 “ soon as he had made use of the third,  
 “ she arose in perfect health, and strong-  
 “ er than she had ever been. It is be-  
 “ lieved, says Sozomen, that they ap-  
 “ plied the Cross to a dead body which  
 “ instantly revived. Saint Paulinus and  
 “ Saint Sulpitius Severus mention only  
 “ this last miracle.

“ Helena, full of joy, adored, not the  
 “ wood itself, says St. Ambrose, which  
 “ would have been a Pagan folly, but  
 “ the King of Heaven who suffered upon  
 “ it. She took part of this treasure to  
 “ carry to her son, and inclosing the rest  
 “ in a silver box, she committed it to the  
 “ Bishop of Jerusalem. It was carefully  
 “ kept in the Church which was built  
 “ there, and the Bishop alone had the  
 “ power to give little bits of it, which  
 “ were considered as a singular favour  
 “ and



“ and blessing. Saint Paulinus relates a  
“ *very singular thing* concerning that part  
“ of the Cross which was at Jerusalem.  
“ This Cross, says he, having a vital  
“ virtue in an insensible and inanimate  
“ substance, hath yielded and continues  
“ to yield almost daily its precious wood  
“ to the desires of an infinite number of  
“ persons, without suffering any dimi-  
“ nution, continuing all the while as if  
“ it had been untouched. It permits it-  
“ self every day to be divided into several  
“ parts, and yet remains exposed entire  
“ to the veneration of the people.

“ Saint Cyril of Jerusalem says only  
“ that the pieces of the Cross were  
“ brought away from Jerusalem, and  
“ were spread all over the earth twenty  
“ five years after.” H. E. vii. 5.

\* A man capable of affirming a fact so absurd and ridiculous ought not to be cited and recommended to us as a good witness for miracles, but should be rejected with disdain, at least by Protestant Divines. What pity is it that an ingenious, religious, charitable, and good-tempered Prelate, as Paulinus was, gave into these godly fictions?

See more in Tillemont concerning the nails, the title which was upon the Cross, the spear, the reed, the sponge, and the crown of thorns, part of which wrought miracles even so lately as in his time.

Here arises some difficulty, not whether the miracles were true or false, for as to that, all is clear enough, but whether the discovery of the Cross was a fiction made up some years after the death of Helena and of Constantine, or whether Helena really found a Cross. This must remain a dubious point, though upon the whole it seems most probable that the story was invented by the Christians of Jerusalem after the Emperor and his mother were dead.

The discovery in the time of Constantine rests principally upon the authority of Cyril of Jerusalem, the only witness who lived at that time, and who speaks of no miracles attending the discovery; and the question is whether the Epistle of Cyril, which mentions it, be genuine,

or spurious, or interpolated, and also whether Cyril, supposing it genuine, made up that part of the story himself, and dated the discovery too early.

If Helena found a Cross, it is impossible now to know how the fraud was conducted, and who were the actors in this godly knavery, the hiders and the finders. Eusebius who lived then, and was Bishop of Cæsarea in the neighbourhood, says not a word of the Cross, though he relates the discovery of the sepulchre of Christ, and mentions the magnificent Church which was erected there, and names Macarius, as the person to whom the care of the building was committed. *Vit. Const.* iii. 25, etc. It is therefore to be concluded that either he knew nothing, or believed nothing of it. If the thing was really transacted as Socrates and others relate, one might conjecture that Eusebius chose to be silent, lest he should offend the family of Constantine, and say what the times would not bear.

*Negue Crucis inventionem solus præterit Eusebius. Quod magis miramur, de ea nihil memorat Constantinus ipse, in sua ad Macarium Epistola, ubi Dei in laudes erumpit, ob repertum, quod tamdiu delituerat, sepulcrum Domini, sacratissimum passionis ejus monumentum. Quanto magis repertæ Crucis meminisset? Non nescimus Bellarminum Constantini verba hæc accommodasse Crucis. Sed intoleranda hæc est Bellarmini sive inscitia, sive audacia, quocunque nomine vocetur, dum ex Sepulcro Crucem fabricat. Inventæ Crucis primus mentionem fecit Cyrillus, qui ea de re ad Constantium scripsit Augustum: Ac tempore quidem Deo dilectissimi ac beatæ memoriæ Constantini patris tui, salutare Crucis lignum Hierosolymis repertum est. Cum autem illo tempore vixerit Cyrillus, quo Hierosolymam lustravit Helena, durum fortasse videbitur, aut factum negare, aut Epistolam Cyrillo detrabere. Non dissimulabimus tamen in ea quæstione nos pendere animi. Urget Cyrilli ad Imperatorem Epistola qui commentis ludi non debuit. Dubium tamen animum multa faciunt. Pri-*



*mum de reperta Cruce traditionis dissimilitudo. Dein altissimum Eusebii Constantinique de ea inventione silentium, etc. Denique fraus Reliquiariorum nobis est timenda in rebus ejusmodi. Excogitatum esse Crucis inventionem, partim ut pergratum fieret Constantio, qui Reliquiis extra modum delectabatur, partim et Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ honos accumularetur, quid vetat? Nonne Juvenalis, Cyrilli de successoribus unus, per commentitia scripta Palæstinæ principatum extorquere voluit, docente Leone, Epist. 62. Hieronymus quidem<sup>h</sup> Cyrillum ejusmodi coloribus pingit in Chronico, quibus existimari forsitan posset animum a piis fraudibus alienum non gestasse. etc. S. Basnage, Ann. ii. 728, 9.*

If Cyril of Jerusalem wrote these words, and vouched for the discovery of the true Cross, he must, as to this particular, pass either for a *Deceiver*, or for  
that tool,

*Which wise men work with, call'd —*

<sup>h</sup> See Sozom. iv. 25. vii. 7. Socrat. ii. 40. concerning the character of Cyril.

One would therefore willingly suppose that the letter ascribed to Cyril is spurious or interpolated.

The good woman Helena was near fourscore years old when she took this journey to Jerusalem. It is more probable that she should have been imposed upon, than that she should have had any share in the contrivance. As to Macarius, if what is here related of him be true, his Blessedness must have been let into the secret.

Helena was fainted and highly honoured after her death: her body is said to be in an Abbey in France, and also at Rome; but there is no great inconvenience to suppose it to be in two places at once. The multiplication of the Cross, attested by Paulinus, leads us to this opinion. See Tillemont H. E. vii. 18.

The Ecclesiastics of Jerusalem, at what time soever they contrived the discovery of the Cross, knew their own interest very well. It must have drawn a swarm

of

of pious Vagrants to their city, and have brought in great revenues to the Church and to the Bishop, if they gave only sixpence a piece, to see the box in which the <sup>1</sup> Cross was locked up.

The finding of the Cross hath been also ascribed to one Judas, a Jew (and a bad name) by Gregory of Tours. See the remarks of J. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi. 14. § 10. p. 1243.

I know not why Basnage should affirm that this Gregory is the first of those who have spoken of the finding of the Cross. p. 1244.

There is a passage of Eusebius on the Psalms, which hath been thought to refer to these miracles.

“ Montfauçon conjectures that Eusebius composed this work after the year 327, in which those miracles were wrought that later Authors have re-

<sup>1</sup> Macrina, the sister of Gregory Nyssen, carried about her a little cross, and a ring in which a small bit of the true Cross was inclosed. *Vit. Macr.*

" corded concerning the discovery of the  
 " Cross, and to which Eusebius seems to  
 " allude on *Psalms* lxxxvii. p. 549. where  
 " he speaks of miracles wrought in his  
 " time near the sepulchre of Jesus Christ,  
 " as also of the Church which was built  
 " there by Helena the mother of Con-  
 " stantine. It was not dedicated till the  
 " year 335, so that Eusebius must have  
 " composed his Commentary after that  
 " year. Yet in the life of Constantine,  
 " where Eusebius speaks of this Church,  
 " and describes very particularly and  
 " with much pomp the Synod which was  
 " held there when the Church was con-  
 " secrated, he says nothing at all of it,  
 " though this was the most proper place  
 " to mention it. Montfaucon however  
 " persuades himself that Eusebius refers  
 " to these miracles in his Commentary  
 " on the *Psalms*. But one might as pro-  
 " bably conclude that this passage in the  
 " Commentary was the interpolation of  
 " some copist, at a time when no scruple  
 " was made to add to the writings of the  
 " Ancients, or to take away from them.

" If



“ If Eusebius had heard any thing of  
“ these miracles, is it to be supposed  
“ that he would have passed them over  
“ in a work made on purpose to cele-  
“ brate Constantine and Helena? Was it  
“ an indifferent thing, and of no conse-  
“ quence, in the fourth century, whe-  
“ ther mention should be made of the  
“ manner in which Helena found the  
“ true Cross, and distinguished it from  
“ those of the Thieves? No one will say  
“ it, or entertain so poor an opinion of  
“ the rhetoric of Eusebius, as to imagin  
“ that he could omit such an affair, if he  
“ knew it. His silence therefore will  
“ always be a stronger motive to reject  
“ what later authors have said upon this  
“ subject, than any argument that can be  
“ offered to the contrary, from an allusion  
“ which might so easily have been insert-  
“ ed by a forger into the Commentary of  
“ Eusebius on the Psalms, to support by his  
“ authority a fable invented afterwards.”

*Le Clerc, Bibl. A. et M. iv. p. 5.*

AMONGST

AMONGST the Fathers who assisted at the Nicene Council was Paphnutius, a venerable Confessor and Prelate. He was reported, says Socrates, to have wrought miracles, and indeed one would sooner believe it of him than of most of his contemporaries, since he was eminent both in prudence and in goodness. This Historian hath transmitted to us a remarkable account of his antipapistical wisdom, by which he put a stop to a very absurd decree, which else might have passed in that General Council,

*Paphnutius cujusdam urbis in superiori Thebaide fuit Episcopus; vir adeo pius Deoque carus, ut admiranda ab eo signa ederentur. Huic persecutionis tempore oculus fuerat effossus. Imperator vero hominem magnopere observabat, et frequenter in palatium accersebat, effossumque ejus oculum deosculabatur. — Visum erat Episcopis novam legem inducere, ut quicumque in sacrum ordinem allekti essent, id est, Episcopi, Presbyteri, et Diaconi, ab uxorum*

rum quas cum laici essent, matrimonii jure sibi sociaverant, concubitu abstinere. Cumque hac re in medium proposita, singulorum sententiæ rogarentur, surgens in medio Episcoporum concessu Paphnutius, vehementer vociferatus est, non esse imponendum clericis et sacerdotibus grave hoc jugum: honorabiles nuptias et torum immaculatum esse dicens; ne ex nimia severitate damnum potius inferrent Ecclesiæ. Neque enim omnes ferre posse tam strictæ continentiæ disciplinam; ac forsitan inde eventurum esse, ut cujusque uxoris castitas minime custodiretur. Castitatem autem vocabat congressum viri cum uxore legitima. Satis esse ut qui in Clerum fuissent adscripti, juxta veterem Ecclesiæ traditionem jam non amplius uxores ducerent: non tamen quemquam sejungendum esse ab ea quam antehac, tunc cum esset laicus, legitime duxisset. Atque hæc dixit, ipse non modo conjugii, sed muliebris congressus penitus expers; quippe qui a puero in monasterio educatus fuisset, et ob singularem castimoniam ab omnibus celebratus. Cæterum universus sacerdotum cætus Paphnutii sermonibus assen-

*assensus est. Proinde omiffa ejus rei difceptatione, fingulorum arbitrio permiffurunt, ut ab uxorum confuetudine abfternent, fi vellent. Socr. i. 11.*

Baronius and Valesius would willingly fet the account afide, for obvious reasons. Du Pin and Tillemont are more fair and candid. See Lowth on *Socrates*, and Tillemont H. E. vi. p. 677.

This decree concerning the marriages of the Clergy, even as it was modified by the wife Paphnutius, will feem over-rigid to many; and for thefe, and feveral other reasons befides thefe, it is matter of fome wonder how the Church was fupplied with a fufficient number of Ecclefiaftics. Who that loved peace and quiet, and could earn a morfel of bread any other way, would have chofen to travel year after year from Jerufalem to Jericho, from Council to Council, to live in perpetual difputes, jars, broils, and quarrels, cenfuring and cenfured, anathematizing and anathematized, and, if he happened to be on the wrong fide of the question,



question, sure to be banished and transported at least to some *Remote Island*, if nothing worse ensued? Who would not say :

*Quod te per Genium dextramque Deos-  
que Penates*

*Obsecro, et obtestor ; vitæ me redde  
priori ?*

THE COUNCIL of *Illiberis* is supposed by some to have been held in the time of Constantine, by others much earlier, and by Tillemont about A. D. 300.

This Council excommunicated those who lent money upon interest, though the Laws of the Empire permitted it : but almost all the Fathers had wrong notions about interest, or usury, as also about self-defense, and bearing arms.

Instead of dissuading vows of virginity, it excommunicated those women, who  
after

after, having made such rash and silly vows, entered into a state of matrimony. It also excommunicated those who should eat with a Jew. Tillemont H. E. vii. 302.

“ The Council of Illiberis made two  
 “ decrees against the Jews of Spain. In  
 “ that country they had much commerce  
 “ with the Christians : they ate together,  
 “ and lived familiarly. The Council  
 “ forbad this intercourse under pain of  
 “ excommunication for any one who  
 “ should eat with a Jew. The punishment  
 “ was violent and inflicted *mal-à-propos*,  
 “ since repasts are actions purely civil,  
 “ and excommunication ought to be in-  
 “ flicted only for Ecclesiastical offences.  
 “ — By another decree this Council for-  
 “ bids the possessors of lands to permit  
 “ the Jews to bless the fruits of the  
 “ earth, because their benediction would  
 “ render that of the Christians useless,  
 “ and it threatens to drive out intirely  
 “ from the Church those who should  
 “ disobey. --- The Jews in that country  
 “ seem

“ seem to have been tenants to the Chri-  
“ stians. They carried the first fruits  
“ to the Synagogue, or rather they had  
“ public prayers for the divine blessing  
“ on their grounds. The Spanish Jews  
“ have still in their Ritual a Benedic-  
“ tion which they pronounce for al-  
“ monds, apricots, cider, and acorns.  
“ They request of God, that he would  
“ send rain and dew upon the earth, and  
“ bless the fruits, seeds, etc. These are  
“ the blessings which the Council of Il-  
“ liberis hath condemned. It forbade  
“ the land-lords to suffer them to be  
“ used by the tenants, fearing that the  
“ Jewish would cause the Christian be-  
“ nediction to be ineffectual. As if pray-  
“ ers addressed to the same God could  
“ prejudice each other, and those of the  
“ Jew could have a noxious influence on  
“ the petitions of the faithful!” *Basnage*  
*Hist. des Juifs* vi. 14. § 8.

UNDER CONSTANTINE flourished Eusebius, the most learned Bishop of that age, and the Father of Ecclesiastical History, whom it were ingratitude to pass over slightly in a work of this kind.

Like the illustrious Origen, of whom he was very fond, he hath had warm friends and inveterate enemies, and the world hath ever been divided in judging of his theological sentiments :

Τυδείδῳ δ' ὅκ' ἀν' γνοίης, πότ' ἔροισι με-  
τείη,

Ἡὲ μὲν Τρώεσιν ὁμιλέοι, ἢ μετ' Ἀ-  
χαιοῖς.

The Arians and Unitarians have always laid claim to him, and of their opposers many have given him up, others have defended him ; and in truth any party might be glad to have him on their side.

In the Manuscripts of Eusebius, we find him perpetually censured and re-  
viled,



viled in marginal notes by Greek scholiasts, and called Arian, Heretic, Blaphemer, Detestable Wretch, etc.

He was one of those Bishops who judged that Arius had hard measure, and who wrote a letter in his behalf to Alexander of Alexandria. But he was a bad intercessor upon that occasion, and probably had very little interest with Alexander.

He was certainly no admirer of Athanasius, yet not an active and a violent adversary. He had the favour and friendship of Constantine, which he seems never to have used in depressing or hurting others, or in getting any thing for himself; and he refused to change his Bishopric for a better.

He scrupled at first to admit the word *ὁμολογῶ*, because it was *unscriptural*, but afterwards, for the sake of peace and quiet, he complied with it in a sense which he gave to it, and which hath been mentioned above. *The use of un-*

scriptural terms, saith he, has been the cause of almost all the confusion and disturbance that hath happened in the church—

ἀγέφοις χρήσασθαι φωναῖς· διὸ σχεδὸν ἡ πᾶσα γέγονε σύγχυσις τε καὶ ἀκαταστασία τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Apud Socr. i. 8. p. 26.

He seems to have been neither an Arian nor an Athanasian, but one who endeavoured to steer a middle course, yet inclining more to the Arians than to the Athanasians. When he died, Acacius succeeded him in the see of Cæsarea, a learned man, who had been his disciple, and his intimate friend, and who was of the Semiarian party. See a life of Eusebius by Valesius, and another by Le Clerc, and Le Clerc's *Ars Crit.* vol. III. and *Bibl. A. et M.* iv. 18. Fabricius B. G. v. 30. Du Pin B. E. ii. 1. Beausobre *Hist. de Man.* i. 545. Fleury H. E. xii. Tillemont, Cave, Montfaucon, and S. Basnage *Ann.* ii. 753. who, in his account of the Arian controversy, shews himself more favourable to the Consubstantialists than becomes an impartial historian.

Eusebius was very laborious and industrious and must have spent much time and pains in reading, collecting, and digesting, but he seems to have bestowed little in forming a style, and in imitating the colour, manner, and diction of polite writers ; his language is neither elegant nor perspicuous, and where it aims at eloquence and sublimity, it is usually turgid and perplexed.

Treating of the doctrine of the Trinity, he makes this remark : “ Our Saviour hath taught us what we ought to think concerning him, in order to obtain salvation : *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him may have life eternal.* He says not, he who knoweth his nature, but he who believeth in him. *Contr. Marc. i. 12. p. 72.*”

In the *Testimonia pro Eusebio*, collected by Valesius, we find the following censure :

*Meminimus in quodam libello Eusebii quondam egregii in reliquis viri legisse, quia nec Spiritus Sanctus sciat mysterium nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et admiror tantæ doctrinæ virum hanc maculam Spiritui Sancto inflixisse. Ex Libro Quæst. etc.*

The writer of these *Questions* might not perhaps mean Eusebius of Cæsarea, but some other Eusebius. See Tillemont H. E. vii. 529. and perhaps he mistook his author, whosoever that author was, who might say that the *Evil Spirit*, the Devil, was ignorant of this mystery, as Ignatius affirms in one of his Epistles.

Eusebius compares the three sons of Constantine to the Trinity. Οὕτω δὲ Τετραδῷ λόγῳ τετλὴν γονὴν παίδων Θεοφιλῆ κλησάμεν.—*Ita cum ad quandam Trinitatis similitudinem tres filios Deo amabiles sustulisset---*Vit. Const. iv. 40. What was become of his judgment and discretion, when he wrote such things!

He



He observes that Christ left his body for a short space of time, to shew that he was really dead, and reassumed it, to manifest his divine power.---Τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς Βεαχὺ καὶ ἀλιπῶν—*Laud. Const. xv.*

See how easy it is to fall into heterodoxy quite unawares! Eusebius thought not of giving offense by making this remark: but some wise *School-man* hath delivered it as an Apophthegm; *Quod Christus assumpsit, nunquam dimisit.* And therefore we must bring Eusebius off as well as we can. Let Valesius plead his cause: *Hæc benigna interpretatione adjuvanda sunt*, says he, *Christus enim ne minimo quidem temporis puncto corpus suum reliquit. Quippe qui, ut vulgo dici solet, id quod semel assumpsit, nunquam dimisit. Sed corpus suum animæ consortio destitui aliquantisper passus est.* An excellent distinction!

Eusebius calls Christ, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀεὶ ὡς ἡμεῖς λέγομεν. E. H. i. 2. which Valesius translates, *æternum lumen.* He should have

rendered it, *antemundanum lumen*, which, though not so elegant, is more exact. Eusebius could have said *ὡς αἰδίου*, if he had been so minded. He declares that the Son is *Πατρὶ συμβασιλεύων ἐξ ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπείραν καὶ ἀτελεύτητον αἰῶνα*; *reigns with his Father, from ages without beginning to ages without end*. *Laud. Const. i. p. 719.* And again; *καὶ χρόνοις μὲν τιςιν καὶ ὄντα, ὕστερον δὲ ποτε γεγονότα, ἀλλὰ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων ὄντα, καὶ πρῶτα, καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ ὡς υἱὸν διαπαντὸς σιμώντα*---That is; *There was not a time when he was not, or when he began to be, but he as Son always coexisted with the Father.* *Dem. Evang. iv. p. 149.* And, in his *Commentary on the Psalms*; *τί ἐν φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος, Ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐγέννηκά σε; δηλονότι, πρὸ τῆς χρονικῆς ἔφη γεννήσεως τῆς κατ' οἰκονομίαν πρὸ τῆς ἀνάρχου φησὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Δαυὶδ· ἐκ γὰρ πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε.* *Cur igitur ait illi Dominus: Ego hodie genui te? Id videlicet de temporali generatione dictum, quæ per æconomiam facta. De illa namque quæ sine principio est, ait ipse David:*

David: Ex utero ante luciferum genui te. p. 15.

This looks like an acknowledgment of the *eternity* of the Son, and this was also the opinion of his master Origen, who says, "Ὁτε ᾧ τὸ υἱὸς με εἶ συ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, λεγέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Θεῷ, ὃ αἰεὶ ἐστὶ τὰ σήμερον, ἔκ ἐνι γὰρ ἑσπέρῃ Θεῷ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγῶμαι ὅτι ἔδὲ προΐα, ἀλλ' ὁ συμπαρεκτείνων τῇ ἀγλήτῳ καὶ αἰδίῳ αὐτῷ ζωῇ, ἢ ἔτῳς εἶπω, χρόνον, ἡμέρα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ σήμερον, ἐν ᾗ γεγέννηται ὁ υἱός. ἀρχῆς χρόνου αὐτῷ ἔτῳς ἔχ' ὁρατομενίας, ὡς ἔδὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. —

*Sed tum cum, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te, dicitur ad illum a Deo, cui semper est hodie, neque enim est vespera Dei, neque mane, meo quidem iudicio, sed tempus (ut ita dicam) simul se extendens cum illa ipsius ingenuita et sempiterna vita ipsi dies est hodie, in qua genitus est Filius; sic non invento originis ipsius principio, sicut neque diei.* Comm. in Joan. p. 31.

See more to the same purpose in Huetius, *Origenian*. p. 44. etc. Origen admitted also the eternity of the world, or

of various beings eternally derived from God, and dependent upon him, and owing their existence to his will and power. This opinion was most generally received by the Philosophers, and many learned Christians have adopted it. *Origenian.* p. 167. etc.

Eusebius says, that when the *Word* condescended to become man, his divinity was not impaired by it, but he was every where present, filling all things and ruling all things, ἔδὲ ἀποπεσὼν τῆς θεότηης. *Dem. Ev.* p. 169.

He observes that all things owe their existence, and their perfections to the *Word*, and to the *holy Spirit*; that the *Word* called even the Angels into being; and that the *holy Spirit* at the same time illuminated and sanctified them. Ἀγγέλων γὰρ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράδοτον ὁ δημιουργὸς Λόγος ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων παρέχετο τὴν ἁγιασμόν ἣ αὐτοῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνεπέφερεν. *Com. in Psalm.* p. 125.

He



He says of Christ, E. H. i. 2.---  
 ὡσανεὶ τῷ Πατρὶ ὑπάρχοντα διώαμιν καὶ σο-  
 φίαν [ἰσοκλεῖν] καὶ τὰ δότερεῖα τῆς καὶ πάν-  
 των βασιλείας τε καὶ δόξης ἐμπεπιστευμένον.—  
*ut Patris virtutem ac sapientiam, hono-*  
*re ipsi æqualem, et in regno ac principa-*  
*tu omnium rerum secundum locum obtinen-*  
*tem.*

Here Valesius, as a fair and judi-  
 cious critic, shuts out of the text ἰσοκλεῖν,  
 which was not in his Manuscripts, and  
 is a most manifest interpolation; and  
 yet inserts in his translation, *honore*  
*ipsi æqualem*, for reasons which one  
 may easily guess. This was what  
 he ought not to have done, and  
 what would deceive several of his  
 readers.

I say nothing of *obtinentem*, which  
 yet expresses not ἐμπεπιστευμένον. Ἐμπι-  
 στευομαι is, *I have a thing intrusted and*  
*committed to me.*

H. E. iii. 6. Τοιαῦτα τὸ Ἰσδαίων εἰς  
 πὺν Χρυσὸν τῷ Θεῷ ὡς ἀνομίας τε καὶ  
 δυσσεβείας τὰ πικρὰ. Valefius translates;  
*Igitur Judæorum scelus atque impietatem  
 adversus Deum Jesum Christum hujus-  
 modi ultio consecuta est.*

Eusebius, to be sure, was very  
 willing to call Christ Θεός, and hath  
 given him that title an hundred  
 times; but he has not called him  
 so here. He calls him ἀπὸ θεον, X.  
 iv. p. 468. that is, *verum Deum*,  
 or *naturâ Deum*; not, as Valefius ren-  
 ders it, *per se Deum*. Neither Euse-  
 bius, nor indeed any of the Nicene  
 Fathers, would have called Christ αὐτό-  
 θεον, in the sense of *Self-existing*, or  
*First Cause*. See the notes there. Οὐδὲ  
 δύο θεοὺς ἀνάγκη δεῖναι τὸν τὰς δύο ὑποστάσεις  
 τιθέντα· εἰδὲ τὸ ἰσοίμους αὐτὰς ὀρεζόμεθα, εἰδὲ  
 ἄμφω ἀνάρχους ἢ ἀγνήτους· ἀλλὰ μίαν μὲν,  
 τὴν ἀγνήτην καὶ ἀναρχον· θαύρασαν δὲ γνησίαν,  
 καὶ

ἡ ἀρχὴ τὸν πατέρα κекημηρίων. Διὸ ἡ αὐ-  
 τὸς ὁ υἱός, ἡ ἑαυτῷ εἶναι θεὸν τὸν αὐτῷ πατέρα  
 διδάσκει, ἐν οἷς φησι, Ἀνέρχομαι πρὸς τὸν  
 πατέρα μὲ καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, καὶ Θεὸν μὲ καὶ  
 Θεὸν ὑμῶν.—Ὁ γὰρ υἱός, ὅτε μὲν αὐτὸς παρὰ  
 βάλλεται τῷ πατρὶ, ὅτε ἔτ' ἔσαι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ  
 πατρὶ Θεός, ἀλλ' υἱὸς μονογενής καὶ ἀγαπητός  
 αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰκὼν τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ἀοράτῳ, καὶ ἀπαύ-  
 γασμα τῆς πατρικῆς δόξης· σέβει τε καὶ προσ-  
 κυνεῖ καὶ δοξάζει τὸν ἑαυτῷ πατέρα, Θεὸν αὐ-  
 τὸν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὁπιγραφόμενος. *De Eccl.*  
*Theol. xi. 7.* Thus rendered by Dr.  
 Clarke :

“ It is not necessary that he who ac-  
 “ knowledges the Father and the Son to  
 “ be two distinct subsistencies, should  
 “ say that there are two Gods: for we  
 “ do not look upon them as two co-or-  
 “ dinate Persons, both of them underiv-  
 “ ed and unbegotten; but one unbegot-  
 “ ten and underived, the other begotten  
 “ and derived from the Father. Where-  
 “ fore the Son also himself teaches us,  
 “ that his Father is even *His* God also,  
 “ [as well as ours;] when he says I as-  
 “ cend

“ cend unto my Father and your Father,  
 “ unto *my* God and *your* God.——But  
 “ now on the other side, the Son, when  
 “ he is compared with the Father, can-  
 “ not be said to be the God of his Fa-  
 “ ther, but his only-begotten and belov-  
 “ ed Son, and the *image* of the invisible  
 “ God, and the *brightness* of his Father’s  
 “ glory ; and honours and worships and  
 “ glorifies his Father, calling him even  
 “ *his* God also, [as well as *ours*.”]

*Christus Eusebio dicitur αὐτόθεος & ipse  
 Deus, et ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, verus Deus, scilicet  
 comparate ad homines, qui aliquando dii  
 appellantur : nam comparate ad Patrem,  
 sive Deum universorum, non vere et pro-  
 prie Deus dicitur, secundum Eusebii sen-  
 tentiam.*

*Ait Filium πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων et πρὸ  
 πάντων αἰώνων, id est, ante sæcula, pro-  
 ductum : nam sæcula et tempus omne cum  
 mundo cæpisse cum multis aliis veteribus ar-  
 bitratur, nec vox αἰών & apud Eusebium,  
 pro æternitate ante creationem usquam su-  
 mitur : nam hujusmodi æternitatem in Fi-  
 lio*



lio evidenter negat. Montfaucon *Prælim.* ad Euseb. in Psalmos, p. 24.

He says of Christ, πρωτείοις μὲν τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῆς, ἴσοις ᾧ τῆς πατρικῆς βασιλείας ἐνδοξαζόμενος. *qui prærogativam quidem honoris obtinet principatum universi: æqualem autem cum Patre gloriam in Patris possidet regno.* Laud. Const. i. p. 719.

Here Valesius translates the text as it stands in the copies, for which he is not to be blamed, and as a fair commentator, observes in his notes that ἴσοις must have been thrust in by some transcriber, and that Eusebius wrote δευτερείοις. *In gubernatione quidem universi Filium ait principem locum obtinere: in regno autem Patris secundum.* The emendation is unquestionably right, and the reasons which Valesius gives for it are unanswerable. It is not the business of a Critic or an Editor to make his Author more or less orthodox than he was.

In Socrates ii. 37. Valesius has twice *Deum et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, where there is no *Deum* in the text, and where they who speak are Arian Bishops.

Eusebius: "Ἡδὴ γάρ ὁ ἅλῳ Χρυστιανῶν πολίχνῳ αὐτάνδρῳ ἀμφὶ τῷ Φρυγίᾳ ἐν κύκλῳ περικυβητόντες ὁπλῖται, πῶς τε ὑφάψαντες, κατέφλεξαν αὐτὰς ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξί, τὸν δὲ πᾶν ἅλῳ Θεὸν Χρυστὸν ἐπιβοώμενους. *Certe urbem quandam Christianorum in Phrygia milites armati obsidione cinxerunt, injectoque igne totam una cum viris et mulieribus ac parvulis Christum omnium Deum invocantibus concremarunt.* viii. 11.

The phrase, τὸν δὲ πᾶν ἅλῳ Θεὸν Χρυστὸν, is very remarkable; but as it is a manner of speaking which Eusebius hath never used in any other place, and which he has expressly condemned, I believe it should be, τὸν δὲ πᾶν ἅλῳ Θεὸν ΚΑΙ Χρυστὸν ἐπιβοώμενους, *supremum Deum et Christum invocantes.* or, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ Χρυστὸν—as *De Mart. Pal.* viii.—εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεόν, ΚΑΙ τὸν Χρυστὸν ὁμο-

ὁμολογήσαντας. *Ib.* i. μόνον ἓνα Θεόν, ΚΑΙ μόνον  
Χριστὸν βασιλέα Ἰησοῦν ὁμολογήσαντες. viii. 10.  
τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔμμα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν  
καθαῶς τείναντες — τὸν μὲν Κύριον ἡμῶν  
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν—— And in many other  
places which it is needless to cite.

These are not words taken down by  
some by-stander, but the expressions of  
the Historian, describing Christian Mar-  
tyrs, men, women, and children, all  
praying and dying together; and there-  
fore we must expect to find the usual lan-  
guage and style of Eusebius.

See Dr. Clarke *Script. Doct.* N°. 539:  
who says---“ All which by the way,  
“ clearly shews that the single passage in  
“ Eusebius’s account of the Phrygian  
“ Martyrs who are represented as invo-  
“ cating Christ, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν, *the*  
“ *God over all*, must needs have been in-  
“ terpolated with the word *Christ*, as  
“ being directly contrary to Eusebius’s  
“ whole writings in a point which he  
“ hath particularly and largely confi-  
“ dered.”

I agree

I agree with him, that the place wants emendation, but I think my conjecture is much more probable.

Laud. Const. i.—Τὴν Χρυσῆ βασιλείαν ὁμολογῶσι — πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ἁγομῆρας.—  
Valesius :---*regnum Dei confitentess---cum ad Deum pervenissent.* De Mart. Pal. vii. He should have translated it, *Christi*, and *Dominum*.

Eusebius says of the Λόγος;—τῇ τῆ Πατρὸς καθωσιώματι τιμῇ.

*Male Interpres vertit, dignitatis paternæ particeps, cum vertendum esset, devotus ac dicatus cultui Patris. Similis est Inscriptio illa, quæ in basi statuarum quas Imperatoribus dicaverant, vulgo legitur, DEVOTVS NVMINI MAIESTATI QVE EIVS. Cæterum hæc Arianum dogma sapiunt.* So Valesius, who translates the place right.

Laud. Const. vi. p. 729. Εὐθὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆ παντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλῳ, τοιαῦτα σοφίας ἡνίκαις ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὧδε περὶ θεοῦ τὸν αὐτὸ αἰῶνα, ὑπὸ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΙ φέροντι διελάξατο κυβερνήτῃ, τῷ αὐτῷ μονογενεῖ λόγῳ, τῷ δὴ  
καὶ τῷ



καὶ τῶν ὅλων σωτῆρα, τὰς τοῦ παυλοῦ παρα-  
δοὺς ἡγίας. *Ad hunc modum summus omnium*  
*Imperator, cum ævum suum totius anni*  
*circulo hujusmodi divinæ sapientiæ habenis*  
*adstrinxisset, præstantissimo Moderatori*  
*illud regendum tradidit, unigenito scilicet*  
*Verbo, cui, utpote communi omnium rerum*  
*conservatori, hujus universi habenas com-*  
*misit.* Where Valesius says;

*Majorem appellat Filium, non quidem*  
*ipso Patre, sed reliquis omnibus majorem*  
*intelligens. Ac fortasse suspicetur quis-*  
*piam ab Eusebio scriptum esse ὑπὸ μείονι.*

It is possible that *μείονι* is the interpo-  
lation of some transcriber, who was of-  
fended at the word *μείονι*; but yet Euse-  
bius might have said *μείζονι*, in the sense  
given to it by Valesius, and therefore it  
is not necessary to alter the text.

E. H. vii. 19. Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον—  
εἰς δεῦρο πεφυλαγμένον οἱ τῇδε κατὰ Διαδοχὴν  
ἐκείονες ἀδελφοὶ——*Sane et Jacobi ca-*  
*thedram---ad nostra usque tempora conser-*  
*vatam fratres illius Ecclsiæ jam inde a*

*majoribus magna prosequuntur reverentia.*

Here Valefius, in *reverence* to this *old Elbow-Chair*, and to holy Reliques, chose rather to encrease than to lessen the force of the expression *περίεποιεσ. Περιέπειν* is, *to take good care of any thing, diligenter custodire et curare.*

Eusebius in his first book against Marcellus, makes mention of the Trinity, calling the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, *τὴν αἰνίαν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ μυστικὴν Τριάδα*, *the holy, and blessed, and mystical Trinity.* So likewise, in his Epistle to Flaccillus, p. 57. and in the *Præp. Evang.* xi. Clemens Alexandrinus also says — *τὴν αἰνίαν Τριάδα*, apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 13. and Origen vi *Tom. in Joan.* προσκυνητὴν Τριάδα.

It hath been observed that Theophilus Antiochenus, who lived in the second century, is the first in whose writings the word Trinity is used for the Father, Son, and Spirit. *Αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι—τύποι εἰς τῆς*

Τελείον, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς  
Σοφίας αὐτοῦ. *Ad Autol.* xi. 15.

Eusebius censures Marcellus for teaching that the body of Jesus Christ should cease to exist after the day of judgment. This is a question which, methinks, neither Marcellus nor Eusebius should have pretended to meddle with and to decide.

“ Father Simon hath made some re-  
“ marks upon the *Præparatio* and the  
“ *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius,  
“ and upon the editions which we have of  
“ those Books. He commends the edi-  
“ tion of the *Præparatio* by Vigerus the  
“ Jesuit, which indeed is the best and  
“ the most faithful. Yet there are  
“ some passages where this translator  
“ softens the Arianism of Eusebius. See  
“ L. vii. 12. and compare this version  
“ with the original. The *Demonstratio*  
“ is not so well translated, and it is by  
“ another hand, by Donatus of Verona,  
“ who hath accommodated Eusebius to  
“ his own notions, of which disingenuity  
“ a specimen may be seen L. v. 3. in the

“ Argument, where Eusebius says, word  
 “ for word; *That the same prophet in*  
 “ *Psalms cix. acknowledges clearly two*  
 “ *Lords; the one who is the first and the*  
 “ *supreme God; the second whom he him-*  
 “ *self calls his Lord, etc.* The Latin In-  
 “ terpreter, instead of this, translates,  
 “ *That the Prophet evidently twice ac-*  
 “ *knowledges the Lord; once when he speaks*  
 “ *of him who is God and Father, and se-*  
 “ *condly when he speaks of him whom he*  
 “ *himself calls his Lord.* In the Greek  
 “ it is: δύο Κυρίαις ἐμφανῶς ὁμολογεῖ ἕνα  
 “ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ ἀνωτάτω Θεὸν δεύτερον, ὃν  
 “ αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ ἀναγορεύει Κύριον.

“ Eusebius endeavours afterwards to  
 “ prove this doctrine, in his Books of  
 “ *Ecclesiastical Theology*, and against Mar-  
 “ cellus of Ancyra, who was, if we  
 “ consider it well, very nearly of the  
 “ same sentiments which Christians at  
 “ present entertain.

“ I am surpris'd that there should be  
 “ persons who pretend to deny that Eu-  
 “ sebius was an Arian, if they have per-  
 “ used



“ used those Books. It would be an in-  
 “ fincerity, which would give one a very  
 “ bad opinion of their probity. I had  
 “ rather believe that they never examined  
 “ those Books, or never in the original.”  
*Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et. M. i. 169.

It is true that in a multitude of places he establishes the preeminence <sup>k</sup> of the Father ; but in other respects he endeavoured to set the dignity of the Λόγος very high, as it appears from the expressions which I have cited, and I gathered as many as I could find.

The passages in Eusebius, which *Le Clerc* produces, to shew that he was an Arian, are these : Οὐ γὰρ συνοπαρχεῖν Φα-  
 μὲν τὸν Ὑιὸν τῷ Πατρὶ, προὑπάρχειν δὲ τὸν  
 Πατέρα τῷ Ὑιῷ· ἐὰν γὰρ συνοπαρχῶσι, πῶς

<sup>k</sup> In which he followed Origen, who declared himself of this opinion on all occasions. See the *Origeniana* of Huetius. *Inter Christianos Doctores, qui ante Nicænam floruerunt Synodum, multi de Trinitatis mysterio parum caute locuti sunt*, etc. p. 36. *Petavius* says the same.

ἔσαι, ὁ Πατήρ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς υἱός; ἢ πῶς  
ὁ μὲν πρῶτος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος; ὁ μὲν ἀγνή-  
τος, ὁ δὲ γνησίος; δύο γὰρ ἐξ ἴσης ὁμοίως ἀλλή-  
λοις συνυπάρχοντα ἰσότημα ἀν νοοῖντο· καὶ ἦτοι  
ἄμφω, ὡς ἔφω, ἀγνήσια, ἢ ἐκάτερα γνησία.  
ἀλλ' ἑδέτερον τῶτων ἀληθές. ἕτε γὰρ τὸ ἀγνήσιον,  
ἕτε τὸ γνησιὸν ἀν εἴη. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ  
κρείττον καὶ τάξει καὶ τιμῇ τῷ δέυτέρῳ ἡγᾶται,  
ὡς ἀν καὶ τῷ εἶναι, ὅτι τῷ τοιῶσδε εἶναι τῷ δέ-  
τέρῳ αἴτιον γεγεννημένον. *Non enim coëxi-*  
*stere Filium Patri, sed ante fuisse Patrem,*  
*quam Filium, dicimus. Nam si coëxistunt,*  
*quomodo erit Pater pater et Filius filius?*  
*Vel quomodo unus quidem primus, alter*  
*vero secundus est? et alter quidem ingeni-*  
*tus, alter autem genitus? Duo quippe si*  
*ex æquo similiter coëxistunt; et æqualiter*  
*honorantur; intelligi datur aut utrumque,*  
*ut dixi, ingenum, aut utrumque genitum*  
*esse. Sed neutrum eorum verum: neque*  
*enim essent ingenum, et genitum; sed*  
*unum quidem primum et præstantius, et*  
*ordine et honore, secundum antecedit;*  
*quippe quod causa fuit secundo et existendi*  
*et ita existendi.*

Eusebius

Eusebius goes on :

Τὸν αὐτὸν ᾧ καὶ μόνον ἀληθινὸν εἶναι διδάσκει  
 δι' ὧν φησιν ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀλη-  
 θινὸν Θεόν. ἔχει ὡς ἑνὸς ἑνὸς μόνον τῷ Θεῷ,  
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἑνὸς ἑνὸς μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεῷ, μετὰ  
 προδήκης ἀναγκαιοδότης τῷ ἀληθινῷ. ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 αὐτὸς Θεὸς μὲν ὁ Ὑῖος, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀληθινὸς Θεός.  
 εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ μόνον ἀληθινὸς Θεός, διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 ἔχειν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τινά. εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ὑῖος ἀληθι-  
 νός, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰκὼν τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ εἴη αὐτὸς καὶ Θεός;  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ὁ μὲν ὡς ὁ μόνον ἀλη-  
 θινὸς Θεός. *Eundem autem et solum verum  
 esse docet, per ea quæ ait: ut sciant te so-  
 lum verum Deum; non quasi unus solus  
 sit Deus, sed quia unus est verus Deus,  
 cum additamento per necessarium veri. Nam  
 et, ipse quidem Filius Deus, sed non verus  
 Deus; unus enim est et solus, verus Deus,  
 eo quod non habeat ante se quemquam.  
 Quod si et ipse Filius verus est, at sicut  
 imago veri Dei, erit Deus, quandoquidem  
 et Deus erat Ratio, non tamen ut solus  
 verus Deus.* Epist. ad Euphrat.

In his Epistle to Alexander of Alexan-  
 dria, in behalf of the Arians, he says ;

Καὶ κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ γράμματα, ὡς λε-  
γόντων, ὅτι ὁ Ὑιὸς ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς ἐγένετο ὡς  
εἰς τῶν πάντων. οἱ ᾗ προήνεγκαν ἐαυτῶν γραμ-  
μαῖον, ὃ πρὸς σε πεποιήκασιν· ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἐαυ-  
τῶν πῖσιν ἐκθέμενοι αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι τάδε ὁμολό-  
γουν· τῆς νόμου, καὶ προφητῶν καὶ καινῆς Διαθήκης  
Θεὸν γυνήσαντα Ὑιὸν μονογενῆ πρὸ χρόνων αἰω-  
νίων, δι' ἧς καὶ τῆς αἰῶνας καὶ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκε,  
γυνήσαντα ᾗ ἐδοκῆσει, ἀλλὰ ἀληθείᾳ ὑποστή-  
σαντα ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἄλρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον,  
ΚΤΙΣΜΑ τῆς Θεᾶς τέλειον, ἀλλ' ἔχων ὡς ἐν τῶν  
κτισμάτων. εἰ ᾗ ἐν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν γράμματα  
ἀληθείᾳ, πάντως δὴ παρὰ σοὶ φέρεται· ἐν ᾧ  
ὁμολογεῖται πὺν Ὑιὸν τῆς Θεᾶς πρὸ χρόνων αἰω-  
νίων, δι' ἧς καὶ τῆς αἰῶνας πεποίηκεν, εἶναι ἄτρε-  
πτον, καὶ κτίσμα τῆς Θεᾶς τέλειον, ἀλλ' ἔχων ὡς ἐν  
τῶν κτισμάτων. ἡ ᾗ σὴ ἐπιστολὴ κατηγορεῖ αὐ-  
τῶν ὡς ἂν λεγόντων ὅτι ὁ Ὑιὸς ἐγένετο ὡς ἐν  
τῶν κτισμάτων· αὐτῶν τῆς τοῦ μη λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ  
σαφῶς διορμωμένων ὅτι ἔχων ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων·  
ὅρα εἰ μὴ εὐθὺς πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴ δίδοται  
εἰς τὸ ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν ὁρμᾶς ὅσα καὶ  
θέλῃσι. πάλιν αὐτὰς ἡτιῶ λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ ὢν  
πρὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐγέννησε. θαυμάζω ᾗ εἰ διωαλαί τις  
ἄλλως εἴπειν. εἰ γὰρ εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ὢν, δηλοῦν ὅτι ἐξ  
αὐτῆς.



αὐτῶ γέγονε πᾶν ὅτι καὶ ἔστι μετ' αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ μὴ  
μόν<sup>9</sup> αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ὢν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Υἱὸς ἦν ὁ ὢν,  
καὶ πῶς τὸν ὄντα ὁ ὢν ἐγέννησεν; ἕτως γὰρ ἂν δύο  
εἴη τὰ ὄντα. *Accusant eos literæ tuæ tan-*  
*quam dicentes Filium ex non existentibus*  
*factum esse, sicut unum ex omnibus. At*  
*illi protulerunt epistolam quam ad te dede-*  
*rant, in qua fidem suam explicantes, ipsis*  
*verbis hæc confitebantur, Legis ac pro-*  
*phetarum et Novi Testamenti Deum ge-*  
*nuisse Filium unigenitum, ante tempora*  
*mundi, per quem et omnia et mundum*  
*fecit; genuisse autem eum non specie*  
*tenus sed vere subsistentem, propria vo-*  
*luntate, immutabilem et inconvertibilem,*  
*CREATURAM Dei perfectam, sed non*  
*sicut unam ex creaturis. Si ergo literæ*  
*ipsorum vera profitentur, scriptum omnino*  
*apud te etiam eorum fertur, in quo confi-*  
*tentur Filium Dei ante tempora mundi,*  
*per quem et mundum fecit, esse immu-*  
*tabilem, et creaturam Dei perfectam,*  
*sed non ut unam creaturarum; tua vero*  
*epistola eos insinuat, quasi dicentes Filium*  
*factum fuisse sicut unam creaturarum;*  
*cum hoc non dixerint, sed clare definierint,*

non esse instar unius creaturarum. *Vide annon protinus illis occasio detur adgrediendi, reprehendendi, et calumniandi quæcunque voluerint. Iterum eos accusabas dicentes, ab eo qui erat genitum esse eum qui non erat. Mirum si quis aliter dicere possit. Si enim unus est qui erat, manifestum est ex eo fuisse quicquid est post eum. Si autem ille solus non est qui erat, sed et Filius etiam erat, quomodo existentem is qui erat genuit? Sic fuissent duo quæ erant.*

‘Ο ὄΝ ΜΗ’ ὄΝΤΑ ἐξήρνησε, says Eusebius, with the Arians. The question is, what he means by ‘Ο ὄΝ, whether the *Self-existing*, or the *Eternal*. If he means the *Eternal*, he denies the *past eternity* of the Son; if only the *Self-existing*, he only denies his *Self-existence*.

Le Clerc charges him with shuffling in this controversy, and screening his Arianism under ambiguities: but why had not Eusebius as good a right to interpret the ὁμοῦσι for himself, as Athanasius,

nasius, or Alexander, or other persons had, to put their sense upon it? The Disputants were engaged in a *νυκτομαχία*, a *night-skirmish*, as Socrates justly calls it, and Eusebius seems to have been willing to comply with the Consubstantialists as far as he could, and to interpret the Nicene Creed in such a manner, as to make it acceptable to the Arians; and the difference, at that time, between the two parties was of such a kind, that it was not easy to be exactly determined.

Le Clerc had a dispute with Cave, whom he charged with writing the lives of the Fathers like a Panegyrist, and not as an impartial Historian, and with vindicating the orthodoxy of Eusebius, who as Cave said, was a Consubstantialist, and, as Le Clerc affirmed, was an Arian. Amongst other things, Le Clerc complains that certain Divines were far more favourable to the Ancient Fathers than to modern writers, and would excuse in the former what they would condemn in the latter; and in this there was too  
much

much truth. If any one had said to those patrons of Eusebius; You affirm that Eusebius was orthodox, and I grant it: will you then permit me to use the same language, and to speak upon the subject as he did? certain I am that he could not have obtained their consent, or escaped their severest censures and indignation.

“ Although Eusebius made no difficulty to acknowledge in the Nicene Council that the Son of God was before all ages, and clearly rejected the impiety of Arius, who said that he was made out of nothing, and that there was a time when he was not, yet was he very unwilling to admit the word *Consubstantial*, that is, to acknowledge that the Son is of the same substance with the Father; and when he assented to this word, he gave it a sense which will not establish the coëquality of the Son, since in a letter which he wrote to his own Church to give them an account of his conduct, he speaks thus :

*When*



“ *When it is said that the Son is consub-*  
“ *stantial with the Father, the meaning is*  
“ *only that the Son hath no resemblance to*  
“ *the creatures which were made by him,*  
“ *but hath a perfect resemblance to his Fa-*  
“ *ther, of whom he was begotten, and*  
“ *not from any other hypostasis or substance.*  
“ —If One might justify Eusebius con-  
“ cerning the divinity of the Son, yet it  
“ would be difficult to defend his notions  
“ concerning the Holy Ghost: for in his  
“ *Præparatio, and Demonstratio, and*  
“ *Eccles. Theol.* he affirms that he is not  
“ truly God. *The Holy Spirit, says he,*  
“ *is neither God, nor Son of God, because*  
“ *he hath not his origin from the Father,*  
“ *like the Son, but is of the number of the*  
“ *things which have been made by the Son.*  
“ This shews that Socrates, Sozomen,  
“ and some Modern Writers, have in  
“ vain endeavoured to excuse him entire-  
“ ly, and on the other hand that it is  
“ a great injustice to call him Arian, and  
“ head of the Arians, as Jerom hath  
“ done.—Eusebius was not author of  
“ any new Formularies of Faith, he con-  
“ ducted

“ ducted no intrigues to ruin Athanasius  
 “ and his partizans: he would much ra-  
 “ ther have been instrumental in pacify-  
 “ ing and reuniting the two parties.---I  
 “ doubt not but that his many amiable  
 “ qualities caused him to be set down in  
 “ the number of Saints in some ancient  
 “ Martyrologies. It is true that he hath  
 “ not remained in quiet possession of this  
 “ title: but in my opinion, it were a te-  
 “ merity to judge him absolutely un-  
 “ worthy of it.” *Du Pin.*

Eusebius testifies that in his time there  
 were some slender remains of miraculous  
 gifts and powers. Speaking of the mira-  
 cles of Christ, believed by Christians up-  
 on sufficient evidence, he adds; ἐξήτασαι  
 παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ βεβαιῶσαι καὶ δι' ἑτέρων πραγμά-  
 των ἐναργῶν—δι' ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν  
 εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν οἷς αὐτὸν κρίνειεν, μικρά τινα τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως παραφαίνεν εἶωθε. *Exqui-  
 sita sane hæc a nobis explorataque sunt,  
 aliis quoque evidentibus rebus—quibus ipse  
 Dominus noster etiam nunc iis quos dignos  
 putaverit, exigua quedam suæ virtutis  
 signa*

*signa ostendere consueverit.* Dem. Ev. iii.  
p. 109.

Τίς ὃ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅπως σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ  
προσηγορίᾳ, καὶ σὺν ὁχαῖς καθαρωτάταις πάν  
τὸ δαιμόνων ἔργον ἀπελαύνει ἡμῖν φίλον ἔσιν ;  
—εἰσέτι δεῦρο πᾶς δαίμων καὶ πᾶν ἀκαθάριστον  
πνεῦμα, ὡς τι τῶν κολαστικῶν καὶ βασανιστικῶν  
τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως, τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ ὄνομα φέρι-  
ται, ὑπεξίσταται τε καὶ παρὰχωρεῖ τῇ τῆς  
προσηγορίας δυνάμει. *Quis autem ignorat*  
*nostræ esse consuetudinis, ipso Jesu nomine,*  
*et purissimis precibus omnem Dæmonum*  
*vexationem abigere?—Hodie quoque omnis*  
*Dæmon, omnisque impurus Spiritus ita*  
*Jesu nomen exhorret, ut unum aliquid*  
*eorum quæ ipsius naturam castigandi ac*  
*torquendi vim habeat, aufertque se illico,*  
*et concedit : tantam sentit illius nominis*  
*vim.* Dem. Ev. iii. p. 132.

“ Constantia, the Sister of Constantine,  
“ wrote to Eusebius, to desire him to  
“ send her a certain image, which was  
“ supposed to be the image of Jesus  
“ Christ ; for Eusebius himself tells us  
“ that in his time there were to be seen  
“ pictures

“ pictures of our Saviour, of St. Peter,  
 “ and of St. Paul, and that he had seen  
 “ at Paneas a statue of Christ, which  
 “ the woman was said to have erected  
 “ who had been cured by him of a  
 “ bloody-flux. Eusebius returned an  
 “ answer to Constantia, of which we  
 “ have only some fragments remaining.  
 “ It appears that he would not send it to  
 “ her: but as to the reasons for his re-  
 “ fusal, it is not easy to comprehend the  
 “ solidity of them. All that can be said  
 “ is that he endeavours to take her off  
 “ from contemplating the human nature  
 “ of Christ, and to induce her rather to  
 “ consider his Divinity. But he seems  
 “ to go so far as to say that his humanity  
 “ had ceased after his ascent into heaven,  
 “ and he hath been accused of entertain-  
 “ ing this opinion.

“ The Enemies of holy Images have  
 “ made use of this letter, and they who  
 “ have refuted them have allowed it to  
 “ to be genuine, but maintain that it  
 “ was of no authority and weight, as  
 “ coming



“ coming from an Arian.— It is certain  
“ that Eusebius seems not much to ap-  
“ prove the use of images; and yet him-  
“ self gives us reason to think that God  
“ approved of them, when he speaks of  
“ the miracles which were said to be  
“ wrought by the statue of Christ that  
“ was at Paneas; for he dares not main-  
“ tain that what was related concerning  
“ it was false.” *Tillemont*, H. E. vii. 43.

Eusebius relates the story of the statue at Paneas, as an historian, and gives it with an ἔλεγον, as a thing generally believed. He adds, for the sake of those who had ears to hear, that the Gentiles, who received miraculous favours from Christ or from his Apostles, might in all probability have honoured their benefactors by making statues and pictures of them, ἀπαραφύλακτως, ἐθνικῇ συνήθειᾳ, *indiscreetly and according to Pagan custom*; which shews that he was no friend to holy images, and to image-worship, and that he foresaw the bad use which would soon be made of these representations.

E. H. vii. 18. See also S. Basnage *Ann.*  
i. 307.

Nicephorus reviles Eusebius as an enemy to holy images, as an Arian, and worse than an Arian, on account of this wicked letter of his to Constantia. *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. & M. xxiv. 3.

“ The second general Council of Constantinople, assembled by Constantine, whom the Image-mongers impudently called *Copronymus*, had condemned Images, and had made use of a passage from the History of the Apostle St. John by Leucius, of which here is the substance :

“ A Christian, called Lycomedes, had  
“ got a pourtrait made of this Apostle,  
“ who seeing a picture in the house of  
“ his disciple, and not knowing whom it  
“ represented, said to Lycomedes, What  
“ is the meaning of this image, and for  
“ whom of your Gods is it made? I see  
“ that you have not yet entirely renounced  
“ the customs of the Gentiles. Lyco-  
medes

“ medes answered, I acknowledge only  
“ one God, namely him who hath re-  
“ stored life to me and to my wife. But,  
“ if, after that God, one may call *Gods*  
“ those good men who are our bene-  
“ factors, you yourself are the God whom  
“ that image represents. It is you whom  
“ I crown, it is you whom I love, and  
“ whom I honour, as the faithful guide  
“ who hath conducted me to the source  
“ of all blessings. You banter me, my son,  
“ said St. John, you are not in earnest,  
“ and you cannot make me believe that  
“ this is my picture. Then Lycomedes  
“ having reached a looking-glass gave it  
“ to St. John, who discerning his own  
“ countenance, and comparing it with  
“ the picture. As the Lord liveth, said  
“ he, it is true that this image resembles  
“ me, but, my son, you have done a  
“ wrong thing.

“ The Bishops of the second Nicene  
“ Council inveigh, as we may suppose,  
“ against the Author of this relation, and  
“ against those who had dared to make

“ use of it. And indeed the witness was  
 “ good for nothing, he was an Heretic  
 “ and an Impostor. But as to the story  
 “ it self, there is nothing in it contrary  
 “ to the Apostolical spirit, or to the faith  
 “ and practise of the ancient Church. If  
 “ it be not true, it carries no small appear-  
 “ ance of truth, and nothing brings it into  
 “ suspicion, but the Relater. That is  
 “ more than can be said of an heap of  
 “ authorities and testimonies urged by  
 “ these Nicene Bishops, where the facts  
 “ are evidently false, the books certainly  
 “ spurious, and the authors most impu-  
 “ dent and audacious liars. This will  
 “ appear a little rough, but it is very true,  
 “ and there is no occasion to use any cere-  
 “ mony with such disingenuous and  
 “ dishonest men.” *Beausobre, Hist. de*  
*Man. i. 389. See also Fleury H. E.*  
*T. ix. p. 543.*

Eusebius subjoined to his Ecclesiastical-  
 History an *Oration of Constantine*. It  
 was composed in Latin by the Emperor,  
 and translated into Greek by a very bad  
 hand.



hand. It is also full of faults: *tot mendis inquinata est*, says Valesius, *ut pene satius fuerit eam non extare.*

The Pagans, says Constantine in this Oration, may be convinced of the divinity of Jesus Christ, *εἴπερ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν λόγοις πιστεύουσιν.* *Si quidem suorum sermonibus fidem velint adhibere.*

He appeals to the testimony of the Erythræan Sibyl, and therefore I believe it should be—*τοῖς ἐαυτῶν λόγοις*—*if they will give credit to their own oracles.* c. 18.

THUS much concerning Eusebius; to which it may be proper to join a few remarks on the Ecclesiastical Historians, who are his usual companions, Socrates, Sozomen, &c.

“ *Reading*, in his edition of the Ecclesiastical Historians, has joined to the  
“ notes of Valesius such observations of  
“ modern authors as he had picked up  
“ here and there. They might as well

198. *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ have been placed at the end of the  
“ Book, since they are much inferior to  
“ those of Valesius, both for style and  
“ matter, and appear with the same dis-  
“ advantage as an ordinary painting placed  
“ by the work of an eminent Master.

“ Valesius dedicated his work to the  
“ Clergy of France, from whom he had  
“ a pension. He was sadly afraid of of-  
“ fending *certain persons*, who hold this  
“ Maxim, That when an opinion serves  
“ to support a good cause, it may be  
“ piously believed, and it must not be  
“ attacked, be it ever so false and foolish.”

*Le Clerc* Bibl. A. et M. T. xvi. The  
misfortune is, that these *certain persons*  
are to be found, and to be felt, not only  
in the Church of Rome, but every where  
else.

*Socrates* was born early in the fifth  
century, and educated at Constantinople.  
He professed the Law, and pleaded at the  
Bar, and thence was called *Scholasticus*,  
the name which was then given to Advoca-  
tes. He wrote an Ecclesiastical History  
with

with much accuracy and judiciousness, and with much plainness and simplicity of style, avoiding all rhetorical flourishes. He is suspected by some of having been a Novatian, but Valesius defends him, and acquits him of the charge, *Vit. Socr.* Yet he certainly entertained a very favourable opinion of that sect. See vi. 21. and the notes of Valesius. He was a prudent, cool, and moderate man, who made no scruple to commend what he thought commendable in Christians of all parties, and though he calls the society of the Orthodox *the Church*, yet he did not believe that all they who separated themselves from it were therefore profligate people and reprobates. As he was a Lawyer, says Le Clerc, he had learned and acquired from the course of his studies a moderation and an equity rarely to be found in the Ecclesiastics of that time. Upon all occasions he declares himself openly against <sup>1</sup> persecution, and appears

<sup>1</sup> Julian, says he, did not attack the Christians with the cruelty of a Diocletian, and yet he may

a true friend to liberty civil and religious. Only in the affair of miracles he was too easy of belief, and hath disgraced himself and his History by relating some foolish stories of the marvellous kind.

*Hermias Sozomenus* was also a Lawyer. His style is rather more elegant than that of Socrates; but in judgment he is not equal to him. Being of a family which had excessively admired the Monks, and himself born and bred up in Palæstine, and educated at the Feet of those *Gama-liels*, he contracted a superstitious and trifling turn of mind, and an amazing credulity for Monkish miracles, and in this respect became, *magnus nugarum belluo*. He speaks of the benefit which himself had received from the intercession of Michael the Arch-angel. ii. 3.

He and Socrates were contemporaries, and lived in the time of Theodosius

truly be said to have persecuted them; for I call it persecution to molest in any manner those who lead quiet and peaceable lives. *διωγμὸν δὲ λέγω, τὸ ἐποτρῖν ταραττεῖν τὰς ἡσυχάζοντας.* iii. 12.

Junior,



Junior. As historians, they so often and so largely coincide, that the one must have transcribed the other, and there is reason to think that Socrates wrote first, and that Sozomen was the copist. See Valesius *Vit. Soz.*

S. Basnage concludes that these two Lawyers could not have had much practice and many Briefs, since they found time to write Ecclesiastical Histories. *Sozomeno in ea arte constituto multum otii ex causarum penuria contigisse eo liquet, quod ad Historiam scribendam se converterit.* Ann. iii. 395. His argument is both uncivil and inconclusive.

“ *Theodoret* is, in my opinion, one of  
“ the most valuable of the Fathers. He  
“ is learned, he reasons well, especially  
“ in his Dialogues against the Greek  
“ heresies of his times : he is a good  
“ literal interpreter of the Scriptures. I  
“ cannot help admiring his prudence and  
“ his moderation, when I consider that  
“ he ended his Ecclesiastical History at  
“ the time when the Nestorian quarrels  
began

“ began, in which he was so deeply  
 “ interested. But I fear, his zeal against  
 “ heretics imposed upon him almost as  
 “ much as his admiration for the Heroes  
 “ of the Ascetic life, with whom he was  
 “ charmed. Monasteries have undoubt-  
 “ edly sent forth great men into the  
 “ world; but these disciples of the Monks  
 “ contracted there in their youth a super-  
 “ stitious disposition, which is hardly ever  
 “ thrown off; and the weak side of this  
 “ able man seems to have been an exces-  
 “ sive credulity.” *Beausobre Hist. de*  
 “ *Man. T. i. p. 226.*

Theodoret's learning and abilities were  
 great, but he wanted the calmness and  
 moderation and impartiality which are  
 requisite in an Historian. He cannot  
 speak of the Arians, and of the Emperor  
 Julian, without losing his temper, he  
 hath given a good character to some  
 worthless men, because he thought them  
 orthodox, and in the point of miracles,  
 he was either credulous beyond all mea-  
 sure, or he judged it expedient to keep  
 up

up devotion and piety in the common people by feeding them with Legends suited to their taste.

Whatever was his reason for it, he wrote the Lives of the most eminent Monks, in which we find a beggar who died suddenly whilst he was acting the dead man to get alms from a Saint, and then was raised to life again; an hermit fed by a lion, who used to bring him dates *in his pocket*; apples sent from heaven to the Monks; a dead man declaring who had murdered him; Jews conducted by lions; the Emperor's sick horse cured by a Monk, who anointed his belly with holy oil, and made him drink some water sanctified with the sign of the Cross; together with the marvellous exploits of Symeon Stylites &c. A work how unworthy of Theodoret!

*Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'en-  
velope,*

*Je ne reconnois plus l' Auteur du Mi-  
santhrope.*

Du Pin

Du Pin mentions this Book and these miracles in a way which shews that he gave little credence to them, and this might help to draw upon him a persecution from those who perhaps believed them no more than he.

Amongst the Solitary Saints celebrated by Theodoret, there was one who wore the same coat all his life, putting a patch where it was torn, from time to time. It would have been a proper Subject for a metaphysicotheological debate in the fifth century, whether this continued to be the *same* coat under all these changes, and it would have furnished a fair opportunity for visions, revelations and miracles in confirmation of the *identity* or *diversity* of the *holy Tunic*, and then for censures and excommunications.

In his writings against Heretics of all denominations, he makes no mention of the Origenists, or of the Pelagians, whence it is probable that he thought them innocent. He himself hath affirmed  
that



that *Infants are without Sin* ; which smells strongly of Pelagianism.

He attacked Cyril of Alexandria, and he wrote in defence of Theodorus Mopsuestenus, an honest and a learned man, who had the misfortune to displease boobies ; and this is the reason why he is not called *Saint Theodoret*. But he is called Μανάριος, *the Blessed Theodoret*, which is almost as good ; and the title of *Saint* became insignificant, or rather ridiculous, when it was given to such men as Cyril.

*Contra Cyrillum scribere, idem pene est quod adversus Synodum Oecumenicam cui præfuit Cyrillus. Itaque Nicephorus — diserte affirmat Theodoritum contra tertiam Oecumenicam Synodum scripsisse. Atque idcirco, tametsi de Ecclesia Catholica optime meritus fuerit, nec natalis ejus dies annua commemoratione honoratus est, nec ipse inter sanctos Patres locum suum habet in Menologio. Valefius Præfat.*

Here we see one of the bad effects of a superstitious veneration for General Councils

cils. The reputation of Theodoret must be blasted, because he dared to oppose Cyril, Cyril who was Lord President of the factious Council of Ephesus, and who disturbed the whole Christian world with his *quarrels* and his *anathematisms*.

*Faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)*

*Evomit, involvitque domum caligine cæca,*

*Prospæctum eripiens oculis; glomeratque sub antro*

*Fumiferam noctem, commixtis igne tenebris.*

Virgil *Æn.* viii. 252.

Cyril's *Confession of Faith* consisted of two Parts; of *Curses*, and of *Doctrines*: the Curses were intelligible, and the Doctrines were unintelligible. If it had been the reverse, it had been more for his credit.

Theodoret was accused of being a Nestorian; a dreadful accusation in those days, when it was a far greater crime to have thought Nestorius innocent, than

than to have worshiped Judas Iscariot, or an Ægyptian Monkey. But they might as well have said of Theodoret that he was a *Blitri*, or a *Pblattothrat*; for the Nestorian controversy was on both sides a mere squabble about words which conveyed no ideas.

Theodoret was contemporary with Socrates and Sozomen, and seems to have written after them both, for his history often supplies the deficiencies in theirs.

*Porro de historia Theodoriti optime omnino judicavit Photius in Bibliotheca. Ejus stylum ait præstantiorem esse Socratis et Sozomeni stylo. Perspicuum enim esse et grandem, nec tamen redundantem, sed Historiarum Ecclesiasticarum aptissime convenientem: nisi quod translationibus interdum utitur audacius, et, ut ita dicam, putide.— Illud præterea in historia Theodoriti reprehendendum mihi videtur, quod in toto opere nullam notam temporum adhibuit. Valesius.*

Theodoret's character may be found in an Epistle which he wrote to a man  
of

of quality, and a Consul, in which he thought it necessary for his justification to to give some account of himself.

My parents, says he, before I was conceived, made a vow to God that they would consecrate me to his service, and they educated me according to their promise. After having passed my first days in a Monastery, I was ordained Bishop against my inclination. For twenty five years I have so lived in that station, as never to be at variance, never to prosecute any one at law, or to be prosecuted. The same I can say of all the pious Clergy who are under my inspection, none of whom was ever seen in any court of justice. Neither I nor my domesticks ever received the smallest present from any person, not even a loaf or an egg. My patrimony I gave away long agoe to the poor, and I have made no new acquisitions. I have neither house, nor land, nor money, nor a sepulchre where my friends may lay my body when I die. I am possessor of nothing, save the poor raiment which I



wear. Out of the Ecclesiastical revenues I have built Portico's, and two very large bridges, and put the public baths in good condition. I found the City without water, and the inhabitants obliged to go to the river to fetch it. I built them an Aqueduct which supplies them plentifully. I found eight villages infected with the heresy of the Marcionites, and one full of Eunomians, and another of Arians. I have converted them all, yet not without incurring much danger, having been often assaulted, wounded, stoned, and reduced to death's door. *Epist.* 81. et *Epist.* 113. *ad Leon.*

Thus Theodoret was <sup>m</sup> extremely poor, and therefore not qualified to contend with Cyril, who was rich, and drew over the <sup>n</sup> Emperor to his side, by bribing an Eunuch who governed his Royal Master.

<sup>m</sup> Augustin was as poor as Theodoret, and so was Paulinus, bishop of Nola, who had parted with great possessions.

<sup>n</sup> Theodosius Junior.

During the Nestorian quarrel, when the Emperor sent a letter to Theodoret, to let him know that, if he would not submit, he should be deposed and removed, he laughed at the threatening, knowing that he had nothing to lose, except his garment, and that some friend would give him another, and not let him go naked; but the Christians in his Diocese were all greatly alarmed with the fear of being deprived of him, and earnestly importuned him to come to some accommodation for their sakes. His Diocese was large, and contained eight hundred parishes.

Theodoret, speaking of the violent and cruel persecution raised against Chrysostom and his friends, says, *Porro quot Episcopi ejus causâ pulsi sint Ecclesiis, et in extremos imperii Romani fines deportati, quot item Monachi eandem calamitatem perpeffi sint, superfluum arbitror commemorare, et prolixam historiam texere: præsertim cum ea quæ tristia sunt, contrahenda esse censeam, et Auctorum qui ejusdem nobis-*

nobiscum sunt fidei, *errata obtegenda.*  
v. 34.

But if Christians, giving a loose to pride, insolence, and revenge, treat their brethren and their betters with the utmost inhumanity, and do what an honest Pagan would blush to do, is an Historian to spare them, and to draw a veil over their iniquities, *because they were orthodox?*

As I cannot commend Theodoret for this remark, so I think him very discreet for saying nothing in his History concerning Cyril, except these few words: *Erat eo tempore Episcopus Alexandriæ Cyrillus, Theophili fratris filius, qui patruo in Episcopatu successerat.* v. 35. As he had been at variance with Cyril, he did well to pass him by without praise or censure, especially if we consider how many things he might justly have said against him.

A very ample account of Theodoret may be found in Tillemont H. E. xv. 207. Du Pin B. E. iv. Fleury H. E. and Cousin, who translated Theodoret's Hist-

ory into French; and they are all friends and favourers of this Prelate. Father Garnier published an additional Volume to the works of Theodoret, and Dissertations upon his life and writings, with a view to insult him, to run him down as an heretic, and to censure him upon all occasions. If Theodoret had been a *Damasus*, a *Cyril*, a *Thomas Becket*, a *Kalendar Saint*, Garnier would have paid him more respect.

The fifth General Council, at Constantinople A. D. 553, thought fit to condemn the impious writings of Theodoret relating to Cyril and the Nestorian quarrels.

EVAGRIUS was a Lawyer, and a Pleader, as it seems, at Antioch. He wrote an history from A. D. 431. to A. D. 594.

*Cæterum laudanda est in primis Evagrii diligentia, qui cum historiam Ecclesiasticam scribere aggressus esset, quæcunque ad*  
id



*id argumentum spectabant, ex optimis scriptoribus collegit.—Stylus quoque ejus non improbandus est: habet enim elegantiam et venustatem, ut testatur etiam Photius. Sed quod præcipue in Evagrio laudandum est, ex Græcis Ecclesiasticæ historiæ scriptoribus, solus hic rectæ fidei doctrinam integram atque illibatam servavit, ut post Photium observavit Baronius. Illud tamen in eo reprehensionem meretur, quod non tantam diligentiam adhibuit in conquirendis antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ monumentis, quantam in legendis profanis scriptoribus.—Stylus præterea plerisque in locis redundat ac luxuriat, ut recte judicavit Photius. Valesius.*

*A fabulosis narrationibus non nimis alienum esse Evagrium scribit Casaubonus. Fabricius. B. Gr.*

*Quæ de imaginibus, reliquiis, miraculis, Evagrius multa habet, ipsius Historiam in commendatione non ponunt. S. Basnage Ann. iii. 921.*

This is saying too little ; for in points of theological controversy, Evagrius was an injudicious prejudiced zealot, and in the article of miracles a most ridiculous and contemptible bigot, and a relater of tales, which whosoever can swallow and relish, is fit, if we may be permitted to use the homely phrase of some poet,

*Culum lingere Cerberi cacantis.*

But then, as Photius, Baronius, and Valesius observe, he was always on the right side of the question, which is more than can be said of any other Greek writer of Ecclesiastical History, and which atones even for a want of common sense, and sets him above Eusebius and Socrates; for *Socrates*, says Tillemont, *was a Lawyer, and very ignorant of the spirit and discipline of the Church. Hence it comes to pass that he commends equally either Catholics or Heretics, when they did things which seemed to him to be commendable.* H. E. x. p. 232. 233.

Theo-

Theodorus Byzantius, *Lector majoris Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ*, duplex opus *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ* conscripsit. Primum opus nihil aliud erat quam *Historia Tripartita*, duobus libris comprehensa, quam ex Socrate, Sozomeno, ac Theodorito unum in corpus collegerat. — Secundum opus duobus pariter libris comprehensum fuit, quibus res in Ecclesia gestas ab iis temporibus in quibus desierat Socrates, usque ad principatum Justinii senioris complexus est. — Utinam vero *Historiam Ecclesiasticam Theodori integram* hodie haberemus. Multa enim scitu digna in ea continebantur: *Consulatus quoque quibus quidque gestum fuerat, accurate erant adscripti, ut patet ex fragmentis.* — Valesius.

*Philostorgius* lived in the fourth and fifth century. His History reached from A. D. 300 to A. D. 425. It is lost, in a great measure, and there only remains an Epitome, or Extracts from it, made by Photius, and a few fragments.

*Philostorgius* was an Eunomian: he censures the Semiarians, as well as the

Consubstantialists, and defends the Arians and the Eunomians.

*Narrat autem Philostorgius fere contraria omnibus Ecclesiasticis Historicis, laudibus extollens quos novit Arianismo infectos, et conviciis Orthodoxos perfundens: ita ut hoc ejus opus non tam Historia esse videatur, quam hæreticorum laudatio, cum nuda et mera vituperatione atque accusatione Catholicorum. Stylus illi comptior; et poëticis sine tædio, minimeque ingratis vocibus utitur. Tropi quoque ac verba significantia gratiam ipsi cum jucunditate conciliant. Nisi quod interdum audacius ipsis, vel nimium detortis utendo, in frigidum et importunum sermonem incidit. Ornatur ab illo varie oratio, vel ad satietatem; ita ut in obscuritatem, nec eam semper gratam, occulte trabatur auditor. Sæpe etiam sententias apte suis locis inserit. --- Ipse vero scriptor mendax est, et a fabulis minime abstinens. --- Miraculorum vero et vitæ gratia laudat Eusebium Nicomediæ Episcopum, quem etiam Mag-*  
num



*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.* 217  
*num nominat, et Theophilum Indum, ali-*  
*osque complures. &c. Photius.*

In these extracts of Philostorgius, Photius often begins a section with, 'Ο δυσε-  
βής, ὁ φιλοψευδής, *The Impious Wretch,*  
the *Liar*, the *Enemy of God*, the *Dotard*  
etc. says so and so. --- But this was the  
way of Greek writers in all times, as  
Cicero observes. *Sit ista in Græcorum*  
*levitate perversitas, qui maledictis insect-*  
*antur eos a quibus de veritate dissentiunt.*  
*De Fin.* 11.

With all his defects, his credulity, and  
partiality to his sect (of which he had a  
large share) it is to be wished that we  
had Philostorgius entire; for he wrote  
the History of his own times, and of  
some persons whom he knew and with  
whom he had conversed. It would not  
be amiss to have one Arian Historian to  
compare with the Consubstantialists. He  
had picked up several miracles wrought  
by Arian Bishops. The Homoousians  
rejected them with disdain, and yet boast-  
ed of miracles equally improbable.

Theo-

Theodosius the first was a warm Consubstantialist, and was perpetually making absurd and severe laws against heretics; yet Philostorgius observes that he was a prosperous Prince, and blessed with success in all his undertakings, and supposes that Providence thus recompensed him for his zeal against Paganism. p. 539. He also speaks very handsomely of Apollinaris, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen, and observes that of all the Consubstantialists they were the most eminent for learning, eloquence, and elegance of style, and that Athanasius compared to them was a mere child, and a superficial writer.

Apollinaris, though ranked amongst Heretics for reasons mentioned above, yet joined with the Consubstantialists against Arianism.

THE LAWS of Constantine, most of which may be found in the Theodosian Code, are remarkable on one account or other.

Several

Several of them are humane and charitable, and such as the spirit of Christianity would naturally suggest.

He and his successors made decrees which must have continually released multitudes from slavery.

He abolished the cruel punishment of crucifixion, and of breaking the legs, and of marking the face with an hot iron.

*Si quis in Ludum fuerit, vel in Metal-  
lum, pro criminum deprehensorum quali-  
tate, damnatus, minime in ejus facie scri-  
batur : dum et in manibus et in suris possit  
pœna damnationis una scriptione compreen-  
di: Quo facies, quæ ad similitudinem pul-  
chritudinis cœlestis est figurata, minime  
maculetur. Cod. Th. L. ix. Tit. 40. p.  
293. et Gothofred.*

The Pagans used to stigmatize themselves (but not in the face) out of religion. See Van Dale *Dissert.* p. 64. and Grotius *ad Apocal.* xiii. p. 1205. and the Com-  
mentators

mentators on *Levit.* xix. 28. Soldiers were also stigmatized.

He made a law against Gladiatorial shews, which however continued, till Honorius put an end to that wicked diversion, A. D. 403.

*Cruenta spectacula in otio civili et domestica quiete non placent: Quapropter, qui omnino Gladiatores esse prohibemus, eos qui forte delictorum causa hanc conditionem atque sententiam mereri consueverant, metallo magis facies inservire, ut sine sanguine scelerum suorum pœnas agnoscant.* Cod. Th. L.xv. Tit. 12. p. 395.

It would amaze one to consider how many lives had been thrown away in these combats. *Credo*, says Lipsius, *imo scio nullum bellum tantam cladem vastitatemque generi humano intulisse, quam hos ad voluptatem ludos. Mentior si non unus aliquis mensis Europæ stetit vicenis capitum millibus, aut trecenis.* Saturn. i. 12.

He forbid the Tax-gatherers to seize upon mens labouring servants, or oxen, for the payment of debts to the government



ment. Even common prudence required this moderation, because such violent methods would have reduced farmers to a state of beggary, and so have made them for ever unable to pay their taxes; *ex quo tributorum inlatio retardatur.* Cod. Th. L. ii. Tit. xxx. p. 224..

Zosimus says that he oppressed the poor, and used them cruelly to make them pay their taxes. L. ii. but Zosimus was a bigotted Pagan.

He restrained exorbitant usury or interest, allowing at the same time that which was fair and reasonable. The Clergy were forbidden by Ecclesiastical Canons to receive any interest at all, and the Senators by the Civil Laws were restrained from receiving as much as was permitted to other persons.

The Fathers, who condemned all usury in general, did not consider that their scheme was practicable only in the *Republic of Ideas*, and that the Roman Empire could no more subsist without money  
lent

lent and borrowed upon interest, than without air and water. *Cod. Th. L. ii. Tit. xxxiii. p. 230.* See Barbeyrac, *Morale des Peres*, p. 144. and an ingenious *Treatise de Fœnore et Ufuris* by G. Noodt.

He ordered that prisoners should be well used, and conveniently lodged, and made laws in favour of slaves and of debtors.

He appointed that poor parents should be relieved out of the Treasury, to prevent the exposing and murdering of children.

He made a very severe law against rapes, in which he decreed that nurses, who assisted in seducing or stealing away virgins, should have melted lead poured down their throats; a barbarous and brutish punishment. He is supposed to have ordered all who were guilty in this affair to be burnt and cast to the beasts.

His Son Constans mitigated some of the severity of his Father's edict; but appointed that slaves who were found guilty  
should

*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.* 223  
should be burnt. *Cod. Th. L. ix. Tit. xxiv.*  
p. 189. etc. and Valefius on *Sozom. i. 9.*

He restrained the frequency of divorces upon slight occasions, but admitted them for other causes besides adultery; and yet more liberty was taken by the Romans in the affair of divorce than the laws of Constantine allowed. *Cod. Th. L. iii. Tit. xiii.* p. 310 et *Gothofred.*

He exempted the Clergy from the<sup>n</sup> burden of civil offices, which was often

<sup>n</sup> Julian abolished these exemptions, and obliged the Clergy to serve civil offices. His Law is, *Decuriones, qui ut Christiani declinant munia, revocentur.* See *Cod. Theod. L. xiii. Tit. i. p. 7.* and *L. xii. Tit. i. De Decurionibus,* p. 336 &c. and *Gothofred.* Κληρικὸς μέντοι πᾶσαν ἀτέλειαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ τὰ σιλη-  
ρέσια ἀφείλετο. καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κεμένους νόμους ἀνείλε, καὶ τοῖς βασιλευσείοις ἀπέδωκε. *Et Clericis quidem immunitatem omnem atque honorem, et annonas ademit: legesque in eorum gratiam latas abrogavit: ipsos denique curiis restituit.* *Sozom. v. 5.* Τὰς ἐν κλήρῳ κατελειγεμένους εἰς τὴν τῶν βασιλευσίων ἀνέσχεφε λειψυργίαν. *Eos qui clero adscripti erant, ad publicas decurionum functiones retraxit.* *Philostorgius* p. 514.

very heavy. This law, if I were not an interested person, I should venture to commend as reasonable. To this he added another, that there should be no more Ecclesiastics ordained than were necessary ; a proper caution at that time ; and in all times : for many reasons which it is needless to mention.

By a law addressed to the Roman people, he granted his subjects a permission to bequeath as much as they would to the Church. Every one knows how these donations were multiplied, and how bestowed in process of time, to the emolument of the Church, and, as the *Canon Law* assures us, of the State likewise ; *Augmentatur namque Respublica in sustentando viros Ecclesiasticos, quorum precibus regna juvantur.*

However that be, *Hinc deinceps opes Ecclesiarum, et inter alias Romanæ*, says Gothofred, *Chron. Cod. Th.* p. xxi.

They who disinherit their children, grand-children, and near relations, for



no fault, and leave their substance to pious uses and public charities, deserve to be treated as idiots and lunatics, and to have their will set aside as a *Testamentum inofficiosum*.

He is supposed to have given a civil jurisdiction to Bishops, and to have made them receivers of appeals, and final judges in causes wherein religion was no ways concerned. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. p. 295. and in the *Notes*, who thinks that this was a grievous burden upon men who were desirous of being better employed, and had things of higher importance to perform. See also Valesius on *Euseb. Vit. Const.* iv. 27. and *Sozom.* i. 9.

Synesius, who was a Bishop, says, Πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἱερωσύνη συνάπτειν, τὸ κλάθειν ἐς τὰ ἀσύγκλωσα. *Epist.* 67. i. e. *What hath an Ecclesiastic to do with politics?*

“ A Law of Constantine ordains that  
 “ the single testimony of a Bishop shall  
 “ suffice, without hearing other wit-  
 “ nesses. This Prince took a short cut :  
 “ he judged of *causes* by *persons*, and of  
 “ *persons* by *dignities*.” *L’Esprit des*  
*Loix* ii. xxix. 16.

The old Roman Laws shewed no fa-  
 vour to natural children. Constantine,  
 to discourage concubinage, and to encour-  
 age matrimony in persons who lived to-  
 gether in that way, ordered that if a man  
 married his concubine, the children which  
 he had by her before marriage, should  
 become legitimate; but for natural chil-  
 dren he made no provision, and gave  
 them no relief. Valentinian I. after-  
 wards permitted a father to leave a small  
 part of his fortunes to his natural chil-  
 dren, and Theodosius Junior confirmed  
 it. See Gothofred *ad Cod. Tb.* L. iv.  
*Tit.* vi. p. 351, etc.

The first Council of Toledo, A. D.  
 400. hath this Canon : *He who with a*  
*believ-*

*believing wife hath a concubine, is excommunicated : but if his concubine is in the stead of a wife, and he adheres to her alone, whether she be called wife or concubine, he is not to be rejected from communion.*

“ This Canon shews that there were concubines approved by the Church. According to the Roman Laws, every woman could not be the legitimate wife of every man : both were to be Roman citizens, and of suitable condition. A senator could not marry a freed woman : a free man could not marry a slave ; and the cohabitation of slaves was not called by the name of marriage. But a woman who could not be taken for a wife, might be taken as a concubine, and the laws allowed it, provided the man had only one concubine, and was not a married man. The children of such parents were neither legitimate, nor bastards, but natural children, acknowledged by the father, and capable of receiving legacies. The Church meddled not with these distinctions of

“ the civil laws, but regarding only the  
 “ law of nature, approved every con-  
 “ junction of one man with a woman, if  
 “ it was with one woman, and perpetual;  
 “ and the more so, because the Holy  
 “ Scriptures employ the name of wife or  
 “ of concubine, indifferently. *Fleury*  
*H. E. T. v. 120.*

Libanius being distressed by a law made against bastards (for he confesses that he had one) says that Theodosius granted him a dispensation, or even repealed the law to favour him. *Liban. Vit. p. 61, 62.*

*Si quis, says Constantine, in orbe Romano eunuchos fecerit, capite puniatur. Cod. L. iv. Tit. xlii. 1. See also Novel. cxlii. and Leonis Constit. lx. Pagan Emperors had made laws against this execrable crime. Digest. L. xlviii. Tit. viii. 3, 4. 6.*

He provided for the children of the poor out of his own revenues; and afterwards many charitable laws were made by him, and by christian Emperors who  
 succeed-



succeeded him, for the relief of the sick and helpless, beyond what had been done by Pagans; though something of that kind must have been always performed in civilized countries.

Concerning the places called *Valetudinaria*, Νοσοκομεία, See Seneca *Epist.* xxvii. *de Ira* i. 16. *Nat. Quæst.* i. *Præfat.* and the notes of Lipsius, Gruter, and Gronovius. The temples of Æsculapius seem to have been a kind of hospitals, and doubtless the priests, who were commonly physicians, used their best endeavours to cure the patients, and the honour of curing them was ascribed to the God.

Pliny mentions the gall of a white cock, as a cure for disorders in the eyes; and an *old Inscription* in Gruter informs us that one Valerius Aper, a blind Soldier, consulted Æsculapius; that the God ordered him to make a salve of honey and the blood of a white cock, and anoint his eyes for three days; that he applied it, and recovered his sight, and came to the temple and returned

public thanks to the God ; and that this happened in the time of Antoninus Pius. See Harduin on Pliny, N. H. xxix. 38.

He ordered that no woman of reputation should be arrested and forced out of her house for debt. *Cod. Th. L. i. Tit. x. p. 57.*

He made a law against Delators, after his victory over Maxentius, with a view to settle peace and tranquillity at Rome. He ordered such offenders to have their tongues cut out. *Illud sane et ex hac lege et aliis nonnullis discimus, Constantinum pœnas acerbissimas legibus indixisse, si quisquam principum, ut—vitia frangeret.* Gothofred, ad *Cod. Th. L. x. Tit. x. p. 431.*

He published an Edict by which he declared himself ever ready to receive and hear any complaints against his officers, governors, and counsellors of State, which should be well-grounded, and promised not only to do justice to the  
sus-

sufferers, but to recompence them for their pains. *Cod. Tb. Chron.* p. 25.

He made a law to punish adultery with death, which had not been a capital crime, in that sense, before in the Roman Empire. See the first Volume of these *Remarks*, p. 247. and Gothofred *ad Cod. Tb. L. xi. Tit. xxxvi.* p. 295.

He repealed the Papian Law. One of the corruptions which soon crept into the Church, was a fanatical notion concerning celibacy, the recommending it too much, and the requiring it of several; for which the civil Magistrate ought to have reprimanded and checked the Ecclesiastics. The Fathers began from early times to talk weakly and injudiciously upon this subject, and to cry up a single life beyond measure. Augustus, to people the empire, exhausted by civil wars; and to restrain several abuses, made a law *de maritandis ordinibus*, which was called *Lex Julia*, and another called *Lex Papia Poppæa*, in which he encouraged and enforced matrimony by rewards to

those who should comply, and by heavy penalties on the disobedient. It may be right, where the exigencies of the state cannot be pleaded to the contrary, to leave persons more liberty in this than was granted to them by the laws of Augustus; but the good of civil society certainly requires that marriage be permitted to all, that it be accounted honourable, that it be attended with some privileges, and that the parents of a numerous family be considered, employed, and recompensed, *cæteris paribus*, beyond others, and in many cases have the preference. So thought and so acted the wise Romans, when they were in their most flourishing condition: but in the time of Constantine notions were entertained, which afterwards helped to fill the world with drones, mendicants, fanatics, and imaginary dæmoniacs, not to mention other bad consequences. Ambrose affirms that Alexandria, Afric, and the East, where there was the greatest number of Religious Virgins, were therefore



fore more populous than other countries,  
*De Virg.* iii. See *Sozom.* i. 9.

He restrained and discouraged, but did not absolutely forbid and suppress the Pagan practice of sacrificing, and consulting the entrails of victims by the *Haruspices*.

The priests of the River-God Nile were *Androgyni*. Constantine commanded this scandalous order of priesthood to be suppressed. *Euseb. Vit. Const.* iv. 25.

What could be the reason for which the Ægyptians honoured their favourite God in this ridiculous and obscene manner? I shall here offer a conjecture about it: *Quum multi Dii Paganorum utriusque sexus sive ἀρρενοθήλεις putarentur, Nilum inter eos fuisse numeratum minime mirum est. Ille Ægyptum rigat et serit, tanquam mas: ejus autem limus sole calefactus et fruges et animalia parit; hoc fæmineum. Colebatur itaque vel ab androgynis, vel forsan ab impuris nebulonibus qui muliebria patiebantur,*

The temple of Venus in Phœnice was a school of such sort of debauchery, and therefore destroyed by Constantine.

*Lucus hic erat ac delubrum, quod non in media urbe, nec in foro aut plateis positum erat cujusmodi multa visuntur in civitatibus, ornamenti causa ambitiose constructa, sed devium procul a triviis et publico calle, fœdissimo Dæmoni quem Venerem appellant, in parte verticis Libani montis consecratum. Erat illic schola quædam nequitiae, omnibus obscænis hominibus, et qui corpus suum omni licentia corruperant, aperta. Quippe effeminati quidam, et feminæ potius dicendi quam viri, sexus sui gravitate abdicata<sup>a</sup> muliebria patientes, Dæmonem placabant. Adhæc illegitimi concubitus et adulteria, fædaque et nefaria flagitia eo in templo, tanquam in loco ab omni lege ac rectore vacuo, peragebantur. Euseb. Laud. Const. viii. p. 736.*

When Eusebius says, *θηλεία νόσῳ τὴν δαίμονα ἰλεῖν*, he borrows his expression

<sup>a</sup> *Θηλεία νόσῳ τὴν δαίμονα ἰλεῖν.*

Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. 235

from Herodotus, ἐνέσκηψε ὁ Θεὸς Θήλειαν νῆσον. *immisit ipsis Venus morbum femineum*, I. 105. p. 44. But Θήλεια νῆσος in Herodotus means τὰ καλαμῆνια, and they who think that it means something else, or something worse, are mistaken. See the Commentators on Longinus, who greatly admires this modest and polite periphrasis of the Historian; and an Epistle of Musgrave *de hæmorrhagiis menstruis virorum*, in *The Philos. Transact.* MDCCI, p. 864.

Bacchus was ἀρρενόθηλος. Διονύσῳ τῷ γύνιδι—ἀφιέρωσαν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ καταγέλασον καὶ ἀνδρόγυνον ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρύσαντες ἄγαλμα. *Ecclesiam Baccho Gunidi consecrarunt, simulacro ejus ridiculo et androgyno in ea collocato*. Theodoret iii. 7. Jupiter ἀνδρόγυνος γίνεται, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν γαστέρα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν μηρὸν κυοφορῶν, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ πρᾶττοιο. καὶ τὸ διθύραμβον κύημα ἀνδρόγυνον γενόμενον ἐκατέραν ἐνέβρισε φύσιν. *androgynus factus est, non in utero quidem sed in femore fœtum gestans, ut et ista præter naturam ab eo committerentur. Unde ortus Bacchus ipse quoque androgynus, utrumque*

*sexum contumelia affecit.* Evagrius i. 11.

It appears from one of his laws, that the Pagans attempted sometimes to compell the Christians to join with them in acts of religion. He ordered such offenders to be bastinadoed, or if they were rich, to be fined; which was not amiss.

By a law which condemns magic arts exercised to the hurt of others, he permits charms, and incantations, and such sort of tricks, intended for harmless or good purposes.

He made laws for the religious observation of Sunday. *Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 18. Sozom. i. 8.*

*Sicut indignissimum videbatur, diem Solis, veneratione sui celebrem, altercantibus jurgiis et noxiis partium contentionibus occupari, ita gratum ac jocundum est, eo die quæ sunt maxime votiva compleri: atque ideo emancipandi et manumittendi die festo cuncti licentiam habeant, et super his rebus ætus non prohibeantur.* Cod. Th. L. 11. Tit. viii. p. 118.

Before.



Before this law, he had given one, which runs thus :

*Omnes judices urbanæque plebes, et cunctarum artium officia venerabili die solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ libere licenterque inserviant : quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis, aut vineæ scrobibus mendantur, ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cælesti provisione concessa. Cod. L. iii. Tit. xiii. 3.*

Compare this law with Virgil, *Georg.* i. 268. whom the Legislator seems to have had in view :

*Quippe etiam festis quædam exercere diebus*

*Fas et jura sinunt. Rivos deducere nulla  
Religio vetuit, segeti prætere sepem,  
Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,  
Balantumque gregem fluvio mersare  
salubri.*

*Scævola, consultus quid feriis agi liceret, respondit, Quod omissum noceret. Macrobius Saturn. i. 16.*

The Emperor Leo repealed this law of Constantine, and published one more strict. *Constit. liv.*

Gothofred in his notes on the Theod. Code gives us the laws for the observation of Sunday, made from A. D. 321. to A. D. 425, by Constantine, Valentinian i. and ii. and Theodosius i. and ii.

He obliged his soldiers to repeat on Sundays a prayer addressed to the one only God. The Christians would have died a thousand deaths, rather than have addressed a prayer to Jupiter ; and therefore this may be looked upon as a sort of violence offered to the consciences of the Pagans : but it must be considered that the Pagans in general, the Roman soldiers in particular, were hardly troubled with pious scruples of this kind. They who used to worship their own worthless Emperors living or dead, and their own standards, were not men who would have accounted this any oppression or infringement of religious liberty. If any of them had hesitated, his comrades probably

bably would have laughed him to scorn, and have said to him, as one slave in Terence says to another who seemed to boggle at perjury :

*Nova nunc religio te istæc incessit.*

The Christians at that time being just delivered from persecution, must have had some sense of the odious nature of such cruel proceedings. Prudence also directed them not to terrify and provoke the Pagans too much ; and therefore Constantine declared that he would compel no man to receive the Christian Religion.

The first Imperial law in favour of Christianity, which was published by Constantine and Licinius, began with this reasonable preamble ;

Ἡδη μὲν πάλαι σκοπῶντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν  
τῆς θρησκείας ἐκ ἀρνήσεων εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς  
ἐκάστῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ βεβλήσει ἐξουσίαν δοῦναι τῷ  
τὰ θεῖα πράγματα τημελεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
προαίρεσιν — *Jamdudum quidem, cum*  
*animadverteremus non esse cohibendam re-*  
*ligionis*

*ligionis libertatem, sed uniuscujusque arbitrio ac voluntati permittendum ut ex animi sui sententiâ rebus divinis operam daret*—Eusebius, x. 5.

But the Christians soon learned to sing a new song, and to acquire a taste for *wholesome severities*. First they deprived Heretics of their places of worship, then they forbad them to assemble any where, and then they fined, imprisoned, banished, starved, whipped, and hanged them, for the advancement of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and for the honour of Christianity. Such were the dictates of *Public Wisdom*. In the mean time the Bishops, in their Councils, made Canons forbidding any Catholic to marry his children to Heretics, or to leave them any legacy, though they were the nearest relations.

The *Laws against Heretics* collected in the *Theodosian Code*, stand as a shameful monument of the persecuting Anti-christian spirit, which brake out in the fourth



fourth century, and grew more and more violent in the following times.

It is the duty of Historians to give an impartial and just account of such cruel proceedings, that people may be taught to love their liberties, civil and religious, and to beware of those who would strip them of these blessings, and also, *ut qui insontes damnaverunt, ipsi causam dicant omnibus sæculis.*

He ordered Churches to be built where they were necessary, and even where they were not, as in places which were inhabited only by Jews, says Epiphanius, *Hær. xxx. 11.*

He condemned those who should βλασφημῆσαι Χριστὸν; *Speak evil of Christ*, to lose half their estate, if we may credit Nicephorus, vii. 34. This was an imprudent and unreasonable law, giving too much encouragement to indiscrete overzealous Christians, or busy Informers to accuse Jews or Pagans, or perhaps Heretics, of words spoken in the heat of dis-

pute, or in common conversation. For the honour of Constantine we will suppose either that this law was never made, or that it was made *in terrorem*, and never executed. Such decrees are beneath a *Prince*, and only fit for an *Inquisitor-General*.

Afterwards, under Constantius, the severity of the laws against Paganism was increased, and sacrificing, together with idolatrous worship, was made a capital crime, which without question filled the Church with new Christians, such as they were; for there is not, I think, one Pagan upon record, who died a martyr for his religion in those days. Under Honorius, A. D. 408. we find a Pagan Confessor, one Generidus, an officer in the Roman army, who threw up his commission, because he would not conform to Christianity; but the Emperor could not well spare him, and so would not part with him. *Zosimus* L. v.

He made a law against Heretics, by which he forbid them to have any conventicles, and to meet together in public  
or

or in private to perform acts of religion. *Eusebius* Vit. Const. iii. 64, 65. *Sozom.* ii. 32. This was mere insolent tyranny; and Eusebius deserves to be censured for having spoken favourably of it: and yet he is forced to own that it made many hypocritical conformists, and nominal Catholicks. A fine acquisition! But Constantine by commanding armies in his youth, and by his success and victories, and by being master of the empire, got a royal and military habit and disposition of giving orders in a very absolute way, and had no just notion of religious toleration.

He also commanded that heretical books should be sought for and burnt.

He made a severe law against those who should embrace Judaism. This likewise was unreasonable.

But we are not to conclude that all the laws of Christian Emperors against Paganism, Heresy, and Schism, were strictly executed. The contrary often

appears : the Roman Senate was much attached to Idolatry, and Sozomen observes of Constantine, that he did not use to inflict all that he had threatened in his Edicts, ii. 32. and several Pagan writers, under Christian Emperors, declare themselves openly, and speak boldly enough in behalf of their old religion.

There is a law of Constantine, which shews that himself was not altogether free from Pagan superstition, in which he orders the *Haruspices* to be consulted, if any public edifice was struck with lightning. See Le Clerc *Bibl. A. et M.* xxviii. 157. etc. Dacier on Horace *Carm.* I. ii. 3. *Cod. Th. L.* xvi. *Tit.* x. p. 257. and S. Bafnage *Ann.* ii. 673. who endeavours to excuse the Emperor. We may add to this, that a temple of the Goddess *Concord*, being decayed by length of time, was repaired or rebuilt by Constantine, if we may trust to an Inscription in *Lilius Giralduſ.* Zofimus  
I. pretends



pretends that he built some temples at Constantinople.

Constantine was severe in his punishments, which shews that by temper he was disposed to cruelty. If any Civil Officer drew a matron out of her house by violence, he decreed that he should be punished not only *capitali pœna*, but *exquisitis suppliciis*, i. e. says Gothofred, that he should be burnt alive. *Cod. Th. L. i. Tit. x. p. 57, 58.* He appointed this punishment for various offences. See *Cod. Th. L. x. Tit. iv. p. 406. Vivicomburii porro pœnam, et aliis pluribus constitutionibus, et facinoribus facile imposuit Constantinus: quomodo et alias idem in exacerbandis pœnis aliquando nimius fuit.* Gothofred.

To burn men alive became thence forward a very common punishment, to the disgrace of Christianity. At last it was thought too cruel for traitors, murderers, poisoners, parricides, etc. and only fit for heretics.

One cannot help charging Constantine both with absurdity and with hypocrisy on this occasion. He thought it a barbarous thing to brand a malefactor in the cheek or the forehead, and he made no scruple to burn him at a stake!

The military laws enacted by him and his successors are pretty severe, and burning alive was one of the punishments for greater offences.

Perhaps it is impossible to keep up military discipline without rigour; but certain it is that the case of soldiers and sailors hath been frequently most deplorable, in their being so often subject to the arbitrary insolence of men who had not so much humanity as a wolf or a tiger; for a brute, when his hunger is satisfied, is not mischievous, but men who are cruel, are so, full and fasting.

THE CHRISTIANS, being blessed with an Emperor of their own religion, were of opinion that the Divine

vine Providence had in a signal manner appeared in raising up and protecting Constantine, and in destroying the enemies of the Church. There is usually much rashness and presumption in pronouncing that the calamities of sinners are particular judgments of God; yet if from sacred and profane, from ancient and modern Historians, a collection were made of all the cruel persecuting Tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow-creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited after the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange, even a Sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that it was *Θεῶν τι*, that the hand of God was in it. But the case of the persecuting Emperors and Princes is still more particular, if we consider, first the matter of fact, and secondly the prophecies concerning it.

*Herod* the Great was the first persecutor of Christianity, as he attempted to

destroy Christ in his infancy, and for that wicked end slew the male children at Bethlehem. The miseries which befell this inhuman Tyrant and his family are recorded by Josephus, and his calamitous death, and long and grievous sufferings before it, by a burning fever, a voracious appetite, a difficulty of breathing, swellings in his limbs, loathsome ulcers within and without, breeding lice and worms; violent torments and convulsions; so that he endeavoured to kill himself, but was restrained by his friends. The Jews thought these evils to be divine judgments upon him for his wickedness.

He left a numerous family of children and grand-children, though he had put some to death, which in the space of about an hundred years was extinct.

*Herod Antipas*, who beheaded John the Baptist, and treated Christ contemptuously, when he was brought before him, was defeated by Aretas an Arabian king, and afterwards had his dominions taken



taken from him, and was sent into banishment, along with his infamous wife Herodias, by the Emperor Caius.

“ Of [*Salome*] the daughter of Herodias, it is related, that she going over the ice in the winter, the ice brake, and she slipt in up to the head, which at last was severed from her body by the sharpness of the ice; *idque non sine Dei numine*, God requiring her head for that of the Baptist’s she defied; which, *if true*, was a wonderful Providence.” *Whitby on Matt. xiv.*

Whitby did well to say, *if true*; for the story hath the air of a Legend, was unknown to the Ancients, can boast no better vouchers than Nicephorus and Metaphrastes, and is not adopted even by Tillemont. H. E. i. 101.

\* As to this Compiler, we cannot help observing that he was not used according to his deserts by his contemporaries. The man’s name was *Symeon*, and they surnamed him *Metaphrastes*; but they ought to have called him *Symeon Pseustes*, or *Symeon the Liar*.

Of all the actors in this Tragedy, Salome may seem to have been the least guilty, as she was a girl of fourteen years, and acted under the command of her profligate mother.

*Pontius Pilate*, who condemned Christ to death, was not long afterwards deposed and banished, and died by his own hands. “Nor ought it to be passed over  
“in silence, that Pilate himself who  
“condemned our Saviour to death, fell  
“into so great calamities, in the reign  
“of Caius, that he became his own  
“executioner, the divine Vengeance over-  
“taking him <sup>a</sup> not long after his crime.  
“This we learn from the Greek Histo-  
“rians.” *Eusebius* ii. 7. and *Orosius*  
vii. 5.

The high Priest *Caiaphas* was deposed by Vitellius three years after the death of Christ, which gave no offence to the Jews, who loved him not. Thus this

<sup>a</sup> ἐκ εἰς μακρὰν, *non longo post tempore*; which is wanting in the version of Valesius.

wicked man, who condemned Christ for fear of disobliging the Romans, was ignominiously turned out of his office by the Roman Governor. *Josephus* Ant. xviii. 4.

To these we may add *Flaccus*, the Governor of *Ægypt*, who persecuted, though not the Christians, yet the Jews in a most cruel manner, A.D. 38. “ The  
“ wrath of God overtook *Flaccus*. *Bassus*  
“ a Centurion, giving the signal to his  
“ soldiers, came upon him and forced  
“ him away from his own table. His  
“ effects were seized, and he would have  
“ been sent to *Gyarus*, the most barren  
“ of all the islands in the *Ægean* sea, if  
“ *Lepidus* had not intreated for him that  
“ he might be banished to *Andros*. They  
“ say that one night, lifting up his eyes  
“ to heaven, he cried out, O King of  
“ Gods and men, thou art then a fa-  
“ vourer of the Jews, and they do not  
“ falsely boast of being under thy pro-  
“ tection ! When *Caius* had ordered all  
“ the exiles of rank and reputation to  
“ be

“ be destroyed, and had particularly  
 “ named Flaccus, assassins were sent to  
 “ dispatch him. When they landed at  
 “ Andros, Flaccus guessed for what pur-  
 “ pose they were come, and getting into  
 “ an unfrequented path, he fled to con-  
 “ ceal himself: but they overtook him,  
 “ and immediately some of them digged  
 “ a pit in the ground, others dragged  
 “ him into it, as he was struggling  
 “ and screaming, and stabbed him the  
 “ more cruelly for his making resistance.  
*Philo.* See *S. Basnage* Ann. i. 493.

*Catullus*, Governor of Libya, was also  
 a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and died  
 miserably, about A. D. 73.

“ Such was the lenity of the Emperors  
 “ towards *Catullus*, that their disappro-  
 “ bation was all the punishment which  
 “ he then underwent; but not long af-  
 “ terwards he fell into a complicated and  
 “ incurable disease, and died wretched-  
 “ ly; sorely tormented in his body, and  
 “ worse in his mind. He was dread-  
 “ fully terrified, and continually crying  
 “ out



“ out that he was haunted by the ghosts  
“ of those whom he had slain : and not  
“ being able to contain himself, he leaped  
“ out of the bed, as if he were tortured  
“ with fire, and put to the rack. His  
“ distemper increased, till his entrails  
“ were all corrupted, and came out of  
“ his body, and thus he perished, as  
“ signal an example as ever was known  
“ of the divine Justice rendering to the  
“ wicked according to their deeds.”

Josephus *B. Jud.* vii. 11.

The wicked and mad Emperor *Caius* did not persecute the Christians, whom he knew not, but was determined to destroy the Jews with whom they were mixed, and blasphemed the God of the Jews and Christians, and wanted to set up his own image in the temple at Jerusalem, to be worshiped by all the nation. He was cut off by a conspiracy, and Petronius, Governor of Syria, saved his life by it, for Caius would have put him to death, because he had delayed to  
exc-

execute those frantic orders. See Tille-  
mont *H. des Emp.* i. p. 446, etc.

*Herod Agrippa* killed James the brother of John, and put Peter in prison : and the Angel of the Lord smote him, and he was eaten with worms, and gave up the ghost. *Acts* xii. where Whitby says ;

“ *Examples of the like exits of the*  
 “ *persecutors of the Christian faith, we*  
 “ *have many in Church history. Thus*  
 “ *Tertullian saith of one Claudius Hemi-*  
 “ *nianus, one of their persecutors, that,*  
 “ *cum vivus vermibus ebullisset, when*  
 “ *worms broke forth from him whilst he*  
 “ *was alive he said, Let no man know it,*  
 “ *lest the Christians should rejoice. And*  
 “ *Eusebius saith of Maximian, that sud-*  
 “ *den ulcers arose in his fundament and*  
 “ *secret parts, from which sprung an*  
 “ *incredible multitude of worms. And*  
 “ *of the uncle of Julian the Apostate,*  
 “ *who persecuted the Christians, and tram-*  
 “ *pled upon the sacred Vessels, Theodoret*  
 “ *and Chrysostom inform us, that he pe-*  
 “ *rished*

“*rishted by this disease, for his scrotum*  
“*corrupted and bred worms.*

“*An instance like to this we have in*  
“*Pherocydes Syrus, eaten up of lice,*  
“*for boasting of his great wisdom and his*  
“*pleasant life, though he sacrificed to no*  
“*God at all, saith Ælian, Var. Hist. iv.*  
“*28. Diog. Laert. i. p. 75. 77. See*  
“*Bochart Hieroz. p. 2. L. iv. 23. p. 620,*  
“*621. So also was it under the Jewish*  
“*state : for of Antiochus Epiphanes we*  
“*read, that worms sprang out of the*  
“*body of this wicked man. 2 Macc. ix.*  
“*8, 9. etc.”*

Add to these the story of *Pheretimé*,  
from Herodotus :

“*Nor did this wicked woman come*  
“*to an happy end; for as soon as she*  
“*had returned from Libya to Ægypt,*  
“*after having taken revenge on the Bar-*  
“*cæans, she perished miserably, being*  
“*eaten up of worms. Thus immode-*  
“*rate revenge brings down the displea-*  
“*sure*

“sure of the Gods upon cruel persons.”  
*Herodotus* iv. 205.

*Ananias*, the high priest, persecuted St. Paul, and insolently ordered the bystanders to smite him on the mouth. And Paul said, *God shall smite thee*, etc.

Chrysostom and Augustin are of opinion that St. Paul (though perhaps he had no such design) spake this prophetically; for *Ananias*, after having contributed to the ruin of his country by a powerful faction which he had raised, and which produced many calamities, was slain, after the revolt of the Jews, A. D. 66. with his brother, and fell, not by the arms of the Romans, but by another faction of the Jews, which was headed by his own son: Tillemont, H. E. i. p. 274.

*Ananus* the high Priest slew St. James the lesser, A. D. 62. for which, and for other outrages, he was deposed soon after by king Agrippa the younger; and probably perished in the destruction of Jerusalem.



rusalem. See Tillemont H. E. i. p. 377. &c.

*Nero* turned his rage upon the Christians A. D. 64. Four years after, in his great distress he attempted to kill himself, but being as mean-spirited and dastardly as he was wicked and cruel, he had not the resolution to do that piece of justice to the world, and was forced to beg help.

Soon after came on the destruction of Jerusalem, and the punishment of that nation, and of their rulers for rejecting the Messiah.

*Domitian* persecuted the Christians A. D. 95. and was killed the next year.

*Trajan, Titus Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius* did indeed suffer the Christians to be ill used, not through cruelty and tyranny, but by mistake and misrepresentations. These Emperors had many great and good qualities, and nothing disastrous befell them.

Eusebius hath justly and judiciously represented the state of the Christians in those days: “Trajan gave a Rescript, “in which it was decreed that Christians “should not be sought out, but that if “they were convicted, they should be “punished: by which though the violence of the storm seemed to be in “some measure abated, yet ill disposed “persons still found opportunities to exert their malice, whilst sometimes the “populace, and sometimes the governors “were contriving ways to oppress us. “Thus the persecution, though it was “not general, was still kept up in different places, and many of the faithful “were exposed to various trials and afflictions and obtained the honour of “martyrdom.” iii. 33.

*Severus*, who was violent and cruel, oppressed the Christians, A. D. 202. His latter end was calamitous, he was weary of his life, he left behind him a profligate eldest son, whose temper he knew, and whom he ought to have put to death, but had

had not the heart to do it, for the wicked wretch attempted to kill his father, and afterwards slew his brother. All the family of Severus perished miserably.

*Saturninus*, Proconsul of Afric, in the reign of Severus, persecuted the Christians, and put several of them to death. He lost his eye sight some time after, as Tertullian says, *Ad Scapulam*.

*Heliogabalus* brought a new Deity to Rome, and intended to compell all his subjects to adore this God, and no other, or, at least, to give him the preference to all other Deities, and to make them no better than his *Gentlemen Usbers*, and *Valets de chambre*; which must inevitably have brought on a persecution of the Christians; but this vile Monster was slain soon after by his soldiers. A. D. 222. *Heliogabalum consecravit— id agens ne quis Romæ Deus nisi Heliogabalus cole-retur. Dicebat præterea, Judæorum et Samaritanorum religionem, et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam.— Lam-pridius.*

*Decius* persecuted A. D. 250. He reigned not three years, and died in battle. Pagan Writers speak well of him. He seems to have distressed the Christians partly out of spite to the memory of his predecessor Philip, who had treated them kindly, and who is thought by several to have been himself a Christian, though surely a worthless one, and no credit to us. It is more probable that Philip was a Pagan.

*Gallus* persecuted A. D. 251. and was killed the next year.

*Valerian*, who had many good qualities, yet was not only an enemy, but a very cruel enemy to the Christians. He was taken prisoner by Sapor the Persian king, and used like a slave and a dog, and as no Roman Emperor was ever treated, and died a poor miserable captive.

*Æmilian*, governor of Ægypt, and a violent persecutor of the Christians, set up for Emperor, and was taken prisoner, and



and sent to Gallienus, who ordered him to be strangled, A. D. 263. *Gallieno jubente dedit pœnas: siquidem strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more peribetur.* Treb. Pollio.

*Aurelian*, just intending to begin a persecution, was killed A. D. 274.

*Maximinus* the first, a persecutor, reigned three years, and was killed.

*Diocletian*, by adopting associates, and sharing the empire and the troops with them, took the most probable method to secure the lives of the Emperors from the arbitrary insolence of the army, which with little ceremony used to kill one and set up another.

“ To prevent the continual treasons  
“ of the soldiery, the Emperors associated  
“ to themselves persons in whom they  
“ had confidence, and Diocletian, pre-  
“ tending that the weight of affairs re-  
“ quired it, ordered that there should  
“ always be two Emperors, and two  
“ Cæsars. He judged that the four  
R 3 “ princi-

“ principal armies, being in the hands  
 “ of those who shared the empire, would  
 “ check and intimidate each other, and  
 “ that the other armies not being strong  
 “ enough to make an Emperor of their  
 “ own chusing, they would lose by slow  
 “ degrees the custom of electing, and  
 “ lastly that the dignity of Cæsar being  
 “ always subordinate, the power divided  
 “ between four for the security of the  
 “ government, would yet be in its whole  
 “ extent and in reality only in the hands  
 “ of two.

“ But what kept the military men still  
 “ more in order, was that the wealth of  
 “ private persons and the public revenues  
 “ being diminished, the Emperors could  
 “ no longer bribe them with such vast  
 “ presents, so that the profit was not  
 “ proportionable to the danger of making  
 “ a new election.

“ Moreover the *Præfecti Prætorio*,  
 “ who for power and office were in a  
 “ manner the *Grand Viziers* of those  
 “ times, and caused Emperors to be  
 “ massa-

“ massacred at their own pleasure, that  
“ they might take their place, were  
“ greatly reduced by Constantine, who  
“ left them only civil functions, and in-  
“ stead of two made them four.

“ Thus the lives of the Emperors  
“ began to be better secured, and they  
“ died in their beds, like other people.  
“ etc.” *Considerations sur les Causes de la  
Grandeur des Romains.*

. But if this change was advantageous  
in one respect to the Rulers, it was de-  
trimental in another to the poor subjects,  
who were burdened with an increase of  
soldiers and taxes. *Hinc denique parti  
Italix invecum tributorum ingens malum ;*  
says Aurelius Victor.

*Tres enim participes regni sui fecit  
(Diocletianus) in quatuor partes orbe di-  
viso, et multiplicatis exercitibus, cum  
singuli eorum longe majorem numerum mi-  
litum habere contenderent quam priores  
principes habuerant cum soli rempublicam  
gererent. Adeo major esse cœperat numerus*

*accipientium quam dantium, ut enormitate  
indictionum consumtis viribus colonorum,  
deserentur agri, et culturæ verterentur  
in silvam. etc. Lactantius de Mort. Pers.  
c. 7.*

Yet all these precautions did not protect the Emperor and his Collegues from divine vengeance. At this time was the great contest between Christ and the Roman Emperors, which should prevail, They were determined to blot out the Christian name from under heaven, and the persecution was far more fierce and brutal than it had ever been, and therefore it was time for Providence to exert it self; and so indeed it did.

*Diocletian* persecuted A. D. 303. after which nothing prospered with him, he underwent many troubles, his senses were impaired, and he quitted the Empire.

*Severus*, who was raised by *Galerius*, and therefore, like *Galerius*, not disposed to spare the Christians, was overthrown and put to death by *Maximianus Herculi-*  
*lius*, A. D. 307.

About



About the same time, *Urbanus*, Præfident of Palestine, who had signalized himself by tormenting and destroying the Christians, met with his due reward.

“ Immediately after the cruelties which  
“ he had exercised upon Pamphilus, and  
“ whilst he was still in his government,  
“ the Divine Vengeance overwhelmed  
“ him. He who the day before sat in  
“ the judgment seat, exercising dominion,  
“ surrounded with guards, and ruler of  
“ all Palæstine; he who was the compa-  
“ nion, the guest, and the most intimate  
“ and honoured friend of the Tyrant,  
“ suddenly was stripped of all his dig-  
“ nity, and exposed to public ignominy  
“ before the face of those who had feared  
“ and revered him. The whole na-  
“ tion beheld their Governor dejected,  
“ dispirited, poorly begging for mercy,  
“ and shewing the meanest and most un-  
“ manly behaviour: whilst Maximinus  
“ himself, whose favour had filled him  
“ with vanity and insolence, and whose  
“ affection he had obtained by his barba-  
“ rity

“ rity to the innocent Christians, proved  
 “ his most barbarous and inexorable ene-  
 “ my, and after having convicted him  
 “ of many crimes, and openly shamed  
 “ him at Cæsarea, condemned him to  
 “ be put to death.” *Eusebius de Mart.*  
*Pal. vii.*

The Ecclesiastical Historian seems to have taken some pleasure in stigmatizing this inhuman and cowardly Governor, in consigning him to everlasting infamy, and in sacrificing his worthless name to the Manes of his dear friend Pamphilus.

*Firmilianus*, another persecuting Governor, met with the same fate.

“ It is proper to observe here how the  
 “ Governors, as well as the Tyrannical  
 “ Emperors, were punished by God’s  
 “ providence: for Firmilianus who had  
 “ shewed so much insolence and inhu-  
 “ manity to the Martyrs of Jesus Christ,  
 “ was condemned to die with several  
 “ others, and was beheaded.” *Eusebius,*  
*Mart. Pal. xi.*

*Maximianus Herculus* one of the persecuting Emperors, was compelled to hang himself. A. D. 310.

*Maximianus Galerius*, of all the tyrants in his time the most cruel, and the first mover of the persecution, was seized with a grievous and horrible disease, and tormented with ulcers and worms, to such a degree, that they who were ordered to attend him could not bear the stench. He then made an Edict, preserved by Eusebius, in favour of the Christians, that they might pray to God for him, and he died, A. D. 311.

“ The wrath of heaven fell upon him  
“ and afflicted him with a disease which  
“ seized his body and penetrated to his  
“ soul. An abscess was suddenly formed  
“ about his secret parts, with a fistulous  
“ ulcer, which preyed upon his bowels;  
“ and an incredible quantity of worms  
“ issued thence with an intolerable  
“ stink. For before this distemper, he  
“ had indulged his voracious appetite,  
“ and

“ and was grown extremely fat and un-  
 “ wieldy, and the huge mass of flesh  
 “ being totally corrupted afforded a most  
 “ hideous spectacle to those who were  
 “ about him. Of his physicians some  
 “ were put to death, because they could  
 “ not bear the suffocating stench of his  
 “ body; and others were still more bar-  
 “ barously condemned to the same pu-  
 “ nishment, because the remedies which  
 “ they applied to him were ineffectual,  
 “ and they could not remove an incurable  
 “ distemper.” *Eusebius* viii. 16.

*Maxentius*, an enemy to Christianity,  
 was overthrown in battle by Constantine,  
 and in his flight he fell into the Tiber,  
 and was drowned, A. D. 312.

The Christians who were thus deliver-  
 ed out of the hands of this tyrant, com-  
 pared his death with that of Pharaoh.  
*Eusebius* ix. 9.

At this time there was a dreadful fa-  
 mine in the eastern part of the Empire,  
 where Maximinus reigned, and a plague  
 which



which particularly affected the<sup>r</sup> eyes, and took away the sight: upon which the Christians could not forbear observing that Maximinus had inflicted that very punishment on many thousand Christians, and had caused one of their eyes to be bored out.

The Christians signalized their piety and charity towards all persons in this public calamity, and forced even their Pagan adversaries to admire and commend their behaviour. *Eusebius* ix. 8.

At the same time *Maximinus* and his army suffered much in a war with the Armenians, with whom he had quarrelled, because they were Christians.

*Maximinus* was defeated by *Licinius*; and then he repented, and made an Edict

\* In the fifth century, there was a famine in Phrygia and the neighbourhood, and then a pestilence; *Ex vietus mutatione in morbum delapsi, corporibus ob nimiam inflammationem tumescentibus, oculos amittebant: simulque tussi vexati, tertio die moriebantur.* *Evagrius* ii. 6.

favour-

favourable to the Christians, whom he had inhumanly oppressed and persecuted, and whose eyes he had put out. He died miserably, and upon the rack, his eyes starting out of his head, through the violence of his distemper A. D. 313. All his family were destroyed, and his wife and children put to death, and with them many persons of rank, and governors of provinces, who had been his friends and dependents, and the ministers of his cruelty in tormenting and destroying the Christians, as *Pincentius*, *Culcianus*, *Theotecnus*. “ Nor was his latter  
 “ end like that of illustrious Generals,  
 “ who fighting boldly for their friends  
 “ and their country, and for an honour-  
 “ able cause, met with a death no less  
 “ honourable : but whilst his army was  
 “ drawn up in the field, and ready to  
 “ engage, he was lurking and hiding his  
 “ cowardly head at home ; and yet he  
 “ could not conceal himself from God,  
 “ who suddenly struck his whole body  
 “ with a sore plague, and inflicted a pu-  
 “ nishment suitable to his impieties. For

“ being tormented with the most acute  
“ and insufferable anguish, he rolled him-  
“ self upon the ground, and pined away  
“ by long fasting, so that his whole form  
“ was changed, and he looked like a  
“ withered and dried sceleton, or like a  
“ living sepulchre where the soul was bu-  
“ ried in a rotten and dead body. At last  
“ through the vehemence of the inward  
“ inflammation, he lost his sight, and his  
“ eyes started out of his head; and yet  
“ still breathing and confessing his sins,  
“ he called upon Death, to come and  
“ release him, which advanced slowly,  
“ and not till he had acknowledged that  
“ he deserved what he suffered, for his  
“ cruelty, and for the insults which he  
“ had committed against Jesus Christ.”

*Eusebius E. H. ix. 10.*

*Tarsum postremo confugit (Maximinus.)  
Ibi cum jam terra marique perterreretur,  
nec ullum speraret refugium, angore animi  
ac metu confugit ad mortem, quasi ad re-  
medium malorum quæ Deus in caput ejus  
ingessit. Sed prius cibo se inferjit ac vi-  
no*

*no ingurgitavit, ut solent hi qui hoc ultimo se facere arbitrantur. Et sic hausit venenum. Cujus vis stomacho reperiussa, valere non potuit in præsens, sed in languorem malum versa pestilentiae similem, ut diutius protracto spiritu cruciamenta sentiret. Jam scævire in eum cæperat virus; cujus vis cum præcordia ejus ureret, insupportabili dolore usque ad rabiem mentis elatus est, adeo ut per dies quatuor insania percitus haustam manibus terram velut esuriens devoraret. Deinde post multos gravesque cruciatus, cum caput suum parietibus infligeret, exilierunt oculi ejus de caveis. Tunc demum, amisso visu, Deum videre cæpit candidatis ministris de se judicantem. Exclamabat ergo sicut ii qui torqueri solent, et non se sed alios fecisse dicebat. Deinde quasi tormentis adaectus fatebatur. Christum subinde deprecans et plorans ut suimet misereretur. Sic inter gemitus, quos tanquam cremaretur edebat, nocentem spiritum detestabili genere mortis efflavit. Lactantius de Mort. Pers. c. 49.*



Eusebius, Chrysoſtom, Epiphanius, and Lactantius (as he is commonly called) agree that Maximinus loſt his eyeſight before he died. In the circumſtances wherein Lactantius and Eusebius differ, the preference ſeems due to Eusebius, as to one who might be better informed of the truth, and who was leſs inclined to embellish it with common reports.

“ After this, moſt of the enemies of  
“ our religion were deſpoiled of all their  
“ honours. All the Rulers of provinces  
“ were put to death, who had acted on  
“ the ſide of Maximinus, and who to  
“ pleaſe him had cruelly treated the  
“ Chriſtians, as Pincentius his principal  
“ favourite — Culcianus who had de-  
“ ſtroyed ſo many Chriſtians in Ægypt--  
“ together with ſeveral others who had  
“ aſſiſted in eſtabliſhing and ſupporting  
“ his tyranny. --- Nor did the divine  
“ Juſtice ſuffer Theotecnus one of our  
“ violent perſecutors to eſcape unpuniſh-  
“ ed.” — *Eusebius* ix. 11.

A *Roman Officer*, (whose name Eusebius hath not recorded) to oblige Maximinus, oppressed the Christians at Damascus, and spread calumnies against them; and not long after he died by his own hands, says Eusebius, and inflicted upon himself the punishment due to his wickedness. *E. H. ix. 5, 6.*

*Licinius*, the last of these persecutors, was conquered, and put to death by Constantine, A. D. 323. This worthless and stupid Prince could not read or write his own name, and hated all men of learning as much as he did the Christians.

“ His education, rustic, and suitable to  
 “ his mean and obscure birth, made him  
 “ totally ignorant of letters. He was a de-  
 “ clared enemy to all learning, and called  
 “ it the pest and the poison of the state;  
 “ but he had a particular hatred for the  
 “ profession of the Law. He also took a  
 “ delight in tormenting the most illustri-  
 “ ous Philosophers, and in making them  
 “ suffer the punishments inflicted on the  
 “ vilest

“ vilest slaves, for crimes laid to their  
“ charge of which they were innocent.”

*Tillemont Hist. des Emp. iv. p. 103.*

Thus perished this foe to religion,  
liberty, and literature; whose memory  
will not perish, but stink through all  
ages :

Καὶ λίην κείνός γε εἰκότι κείται ὀλέθρῳ  
ὥς δόλοιο καὶ ἄλλῳ, ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε  
ρέζοι.

The Christians had an illustrious friend  
and protector in *Constantius*, the father  
of Constantine, although he was a Pagan.  
He lived highly honoured, and greatly  
beloved by his subjects; his reign was  
prosperous, he died in peace, leaving se-  
veral children, of whom the eldest suc-  
ceeded in his dominions, and became  
master of the Roman Empire.

After Christianity was thus established,  
the emperor *Julian* renounced the faith  
in which he had been educated, and op-  
pressed the Christians, and endeavoured  
to restore Paganism. But having reigned

a short time, he was cut off in the midst of his days, and perished in his rash and unhappy expedition against the Persians. As this Prince had his good as well as his bad qualities, Providence seems to have permitted him to fall in battle, and to die an honourable death.

They who were employed or permitted by Julian to persecute the Christians, are said to have perished miserably and remarkably. Tillemont gives us the following account of them, faithfully collected from ancient Fathers and Ecclesiastical Historians, which probably contains many truths, mixed with some exaggeration and embellishment; for such was the genius of those times, that doubt and diffidence is unavoidable, where Angels, and Devils, and Monks, and Miracles, and Visions, and divine Judgments are the subject. The apparitions of armed men, and the revelations which were made to Christians of Julian's death, may justly be taken in the lump as so many pious frauds.



“ We have observed that *Count Ju-*  
“ *lian*, with *Felix* Superintendant of the  
“ Finances, and *Elpidius* Treasurer to the  
“ Emperor, Apostates all three, had re-  
“ ceived orders to go and seize the effects  
“ of the Church of Antioch, and carry  
“ them to the Treasury. They did it  
“ on the day of the martyrdom of St.  
“ Theodoret, and drew up an account of  
“ what they had seized. But Count Ju-  
“ lian was not content with taking away  
“ the sacred vessels of the Church and  
“ with profaning them by his impure  
“ hands: carrying to greater lengths the  
“ outrage he was doing to Jesus Christ,  
“ he overturned and flung them down  
“ on the ground, and sat upon them in a  
“ criminal manner, so as to commit act-  
“ ions which one dare not name, adding  
“ to this all the banters and blasphemies  
“ that he could devise against Christ and  
“ against the Christians, who, he said,  
“ were abandoned of God. Euzoïus,  
“ Bishop of the Arians, who were still  
“ in possession of the great Church, op-  
“ posing

278 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ posing himself to these sacrileges, re-  
“ ceived from him a blow on the face.”

“ Felix, the Superintendant, signalized  
“ himself also by another impiety; for as  
“ he was viewing the rich and magnifi-  
“ cent vessels which the Emperors Con-  
“ stantine and Constantius had given to  
“ the Church; Behold, said he, with  
“ what plate the son of Mary is served !  
“ It is said that Count Julian and he  
“ made it the subject of banter, that God  
“ should let them thus profane his temple,  
“ without interposing by visible mira-  
“ cles.

“ But their impieties remained not  
“ long unpunished, and Julian had no  
“ sooner profaned the sacred utensils,  
“ than he felt the effect of divine venge-  
“ ance. He passed the following night  
“ with much disquiet, and the next morn-  
“ ing he presented to the Emperor an in-  
“ ventory of all that had been seized in the  
“ Church, and then he informed him of  
“ what he had done the evening before,  
“ with relation to St. Theodoret. He  
“ had

“ had done it with a view to please that  
“ Prince : but the Emperor told him  
“ plainly that he approved not his putting  
“ a Christian to death for no other cause  
“ than his religion, and in the very place  
“ where he (the Emperor) was, which  
“ would make it believed that it was  
“ done by his secret orders. He com-  
“ plained that this would afford an occa-  
“ sion to the Galilæans to write against  
“ him, as they had written against his  
“ predecessors, and to make a Saint and  
“ a Martyr of Theodoret. He absolutely  
“ commanded him, not only to put no  
“ more Christians to death, but to suffer  
“ none else to do it.

“ The Count, who little expected such  
“ a reception and reply, remained greatly  
“ confounded. The Emperor, to com-  
“ fort him, told him that he should go  
“ along with him, to sacrifice to the  
“ Gods, and by that means to obtain the  
“ remission of his fault : and the priests  
“ of the Idols having presented to the  
“ Emperor some fowls and other food  
“ which had been offered to the Devil,

“ he ate of them, and gave some to his  
 “ uncle. The respect and fear with  
 “ which the Count was seized, permitted  
 “ him not to eat much. He then retired  
 “ to his own house, vexed that he had  
 “ done an odious action, and had also  
 “ displeased the Emperor, so that he  
 “ would not take any nourishment.

“ Yet the little that he had eaten  
 “ would not digest, and in the evening  
 “ he had a disorder in his bowels which  
 “ gave him violent pain. He fell into a  
 “ grievous and unknown disease, and his  
 “ inward parts being corrupted, he cast  
 “ out his liver and his excrements, not  
 “ from the ordinary passages, but from  
 “ his miserable mouth, which had uttered  
 “ so many blasphemies. His secret parts,  
 “ and all the flesh round about them cor-  
 “ rupted also, and bred worms; and to  
 “ shew that it was a divine punishment,  
 “ all the art of the physicians could give  
 “ him no relief, though on account of his  
 “ high rank, and his near relation to the  
 “ Emperor, they employed all kind of  
 “ reme-



“ remedies. They killed a great number  
“ of the choicest and fattest birds, and  
“ applied them to the rotten places, to  
“ draw out the worms ; but the worms  
“ instead of coming forth, entered deeper  
“ into his flesh, devouring all that was  
“ corrupted, and penetrating to the quick.  
“ They got into his stomach, and from  
“ time to time came out of his mouth,  
“ whilst, to increase his affliction, the very  
“ Pagans made a jest of it. Philostorgius  
“ says that he remained forty days with-  
“ out speech or sense. He then came to  
“ himself a little, and his wife who, as it  
“ is reported, was illustrious for her faith,  
“ and who had warned him to spare at  
“ least the lives of the Christians, repre-  
“ sented to him that he ought to acknow-  
“ ledge and bless the mercy of Jesus  
“ Christ, who in chastizing him shewed  
“ him his power ; whereas if he had left  
“ him unpunished, and used his ordinary  
“ forbearance, he would never have  
“ known whom he had set at defiance.  
“ This miserable man, pressed by these  
“ remonstrances of his wife, and by  
“ the

282 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ the sense of his pain, acknowledged,  
“ that this was the true cause of his  
“ sufferings; he detested the crime which  
“ was thus severely punished, and bare  
“ testimony of his own impiety. He  
“ called upon the God of the Christians,  
“ and intreated him to have pity on  
“ him, or at least to take him soon out of  
“ the world; and he pressed his wife to  
“ go and pray for him at Church, and  
“ to desire the prayers of the Christians.  
“ But for all this, he appeared to have  
“ been no more converted than Antiochus;  
“ and he is said to have put to death  
“ several Christians only three days be-  
“ fore he ended his life. His wife also  
“ declared to him that she dared not pray  
“ for his recovery, lest she should draw  
“ down divine wrath upon her self.

“ Yet he intreated the Emperor to  
“ restore to the Christians the Churches  
“ which he had taken from them, and to  
“ cause them to be opened: but he could  
“ not obtain from him even that favour,  
“ and received only this answer, *It was*  
“ not

“ *not I who shut them up, [except the*  
“ *principal Church] but I will give no*  
“ *orders to have them set open.* At another  
“ time the Count sent him word, that  
“ it was because of him, and of having  
“ quitted Christianity for his sake, that  
“ he suffered such grievous pain, and  
“ perished miserably; to which Julian  
“ without fearing the hand of God, or  
“ shewing at least some compassion for a  
“ person so nearly related, sent him this  
“ reply; *You have not been faithful to the*  
“ *Gods, and it is for that, you suffer such*  
“ *torments.*

“ At length the impostumes all over his  
“ body, and the worms which gnawed  
“ him continually, reduced him to the  
“ utmost extremity. He threw them up,  
“ without ceasing, the last three days of  
“ his life, with a stench which he himself  
“ could not bear. Thus he ended his life  
“ by a shameful and miserable death,  
“ passing from a punishment of many  
“ days to a punishment of eternal dura-  
“ tion. He died, if we may believe Phi-  
“ lostor-

284 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ Iostorgius, whilst they were reading to  
“ him divers responses lately made by  
“ Oracles, all of them promising that he  
“ should not die of any distemper. His  
“ nephew Julian lamented him as little  
“ dead, as living; and resolving not to  
“ give glory to Christ, he continued to  
“ declare that his calamity befell him for  
“ not having been faithful to the Gods.  
“ In one of his writings, he says of him,  
“ that he had governed the city of Anti-  
“ och with much justice, but he imme-  
“ diately adds, not with sufficient pru-  
“ dence. . He there speaks of his death  
“ without adventuring to touch upon any  
“ of its circumstances.

“ The disease with which God visited  
“ Felix the Superintendant, was not so  
“ long; for it carried him off in the space  
“ of a day, if not more speedily. St.  
“ Chrysostom says that he burst suddenly  
“ in the middle of his body, by which  
“ perhaps he meant what Philostorgius  
“ relates, that one of his larger veins  
“ bursting, without any straining, the  
“ blood



“ blood flowed from his mouth all the  
“ night, or all the day, according to  
“ Theodoret: so that in the evening  
“ his blood being all gone, he lost  
“ his life, as well as Count Julian, and  
“ fell into everlasting death. Ammi-  
“ anus entirely agrees with this, saying  
“ that he died suddenly, of a loss of  
“ blood.

“ There was, it seems, a public place,  
“ where were written the names of those  
“ who died, and the people reading there  
“ the names of *Felix*, (a title usually given  
“ to Emperors,) and of *Julian*, added that  
“ of *Augustus*, as if it had been the  
“ Emperor himself who was deceased;  
“ and this was looked upon as a presage  
“ that he would soon be amongst the  
“ dead.

“ Elpidius the Treasurer, who with  
“ Julian and Felix went to pillage the  
“ Church, was also punished as well as  
“ they, though a little later: for being con-  
“ victed of having favoured the revolt of  
“ Procopius against Valens, A. D. 366,  
“ he

286 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ he was stripped of his effects, and shut  
“ up in prison, where after having conti-  
“ nued for some time, he died without  
“ reputation and honour, cursed of all  
“ the world, and surnamed Elpidius the  
“ Sacrificer, or the Apostate.

“ A fourth, who according to Philo-  
“ storgius, had a share in the same sacri-  
“ lege, and had shamefully profaned the  
“ holy altar, was instantly punished like  
“ Count Julian; for those parts of his  
“ body which he had abused in commit-  
“ ting his crime were ulcerated, and the  
“ worms which bred in them destroyed  
“ him miserably.

“ The justice of God was also made  
“ manifest by many punishments of the  
“ same kind inflicted on other Apostates;  
“ and it may not be amiss to collect what  
“ History hath preserved concerning it.

“ One who was called *Hero*, a native  
“ of Thebes in Ægypt, and Bishop of that  
“ place, as the Alexandrian Chronicle  
“ seems to say, having voluntarily renoun-  
“ ced

“ ced the Faith at Antioch, was instantly  
“ seized with a disease which corrupted  
“ all his body and made him an hideous  
“ spectacle, and a dreadful example of  
“ divine Justice. He was seen lying in  
“ the streets and public places, deprived  
“ of all assistance, and even of the pity  
“ and compassion of the beholders. The  
“ Christians abhorred his perfidy, and the  
“ Pagans after they had seduced him,  
“ shewed him no regard. Thus he ex-  
“ pired miserably in the sight of all the  
“ world.

“ *Theotecnus*, a Presbyter of Antioch,  
“ fell voluntarily into the same crime,  
“ deluded by fair promises, and was pu-  
“ nished as instantly and as severely as  
“ Hero. His flesh in a short time was  
“ corrupted and overrun with worms,  
“ and he lost his sight. At last he went  
“ mad, and bit and devoured his own  
“ tongue, and from these torments passed  
“ to others far more terrible.

“ We must not omit the punishment  
“ which befell one *Thalassius*, a man fa-  
“ mous

288 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ mous for his impurities and debau-  
“ chery, who is said even to have pro-  
“ stituted his own daughter. He died  
“ buried under the ruins of his  
“ house which fell upon him. Theo-  
“ phanes assures us that his wife and all  
“ his household who professed Christi-  
“ anity, were preserved from this disaster,  
“ and a child of seven years old being  
“ asked how he had escaped, answered  
“ that he was carried out by an Angel.—  
“ The Alexandrian Chronicle places the  
“ death of Theotecnus, Hero, and Tha-  
“ lassius in the year 363.---

“ St. Gregory Nazianzen marks out  
“ in general the stories which we have  
“ related, and adds diverse particularities,  
“ but without naming the persons. Who,  
“ says he, could describe the tragical  
“ accidents, the diseases, the different  
“ plagues and punishments with which  
“ divine justice visited the impious, each  
“ of them in a manner suitable to his  
“ crime? Some burst asunder in the sight  
“ of all men, others were taken off by  
“ extra-



“ extraordinary deaths. In the midst of  
“ their torments they confessed their crimes  
“ with a fruitless and unavailing grief.  
“ Some by dreams of the night, others  
“ by visions of the day had their impiety  
“ set before them. Who, I say, could  
“ enumerate all the calamities by which  
“ God in a visible manner avenged the  
“ demolition of the Churches, the inju-  
“ ries done to the holy table, the profa-  
“ nation of the sacred vessels, and the  
“ cruel usage of the servants of Jesus  
“ Christ?” H. E. vii. 395.

A Deacon, called Cyril, in the time of Constantius, had signalized himself by destroying several Images of the Gods at Heliopolis. The *Pagans* were so enraged at this, that when Julian reigned, they seized and slew Cyril, and ripped open his belly, and ate his liver. The Divine Vengeance pursued all those who had been guilty of this crime; their teeth came out, their tongues rotted, and they lost their sight. So says Theodoret, iii. 7.

*Valens*, who was made Emperor A. D. 364. was a Christian; but being of the Arian party, and of a cruel temper, he became a persecutor of the Consubstantialists. Fourscore Presbyters came to him to complain of the ill usage which they had received from the Arians, whereupon it is reported that he caused them to be put to sea, and burnt alive in the ship. Afterwards, in a battle with the Goths, he was defeated, and wounded, and fled to a cottage, where he was burnt alive, as most Historians relate. All agree that he perished. See *Socrates* iv. 16. 38. and the notes.

The Consubstantialists called his death a judgment: but if so, it was rather a punishment of his cruelty, than of his heresy; of his cruelty which was exercised not only on the party which he disliked, but on all his subjects.

A. D. 394. Theodosius, after having been almost defeated, and reduced to great distress, obtained a signal victory over Eugenius,

nus, which was generally thought to have been by a particular providence, commanding the storms to fight for him. So say Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Rufinus, Ambrose, Augustin, Orosius, etc. and it is thus elegantly represented by Claudian, though he was a Pagan:

*Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte pro-*  
*cellis*

*Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela*  
*Vertit in auctores, et turbine repulit*  
*hastas.*

*O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab*  
*antris*

*Æolus armatas hiemes ; cui militat*  
*æther,*

*Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti !*

The Christians to this added other embellishments suitable to the taste of those times, as that the victory was foretold by cœlestial visions, dreams, and Dæmoniacs, and obtained by the aid of John the Baptist, the tutelar Saint of Theodosius.

292 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Supposing it to have been the effect of a particular providence, which might be the case, good reasons may be assigned for it:

Arbogastes, a general, and a man of great authority, basely murdered his young Emperor Valentinian II. and set up Eugenius in his place. Arbogastes was a Pagan and an enemy to Christianity, and Eugenius the usurper was a sort of nominal Christian, who took every step to endear himself to the Pagans, and from whose favour they expected great things. We may therefore look upon this war as upon a struggle between Paganism and Christianity, in which the latter, by God's blessing, was superior, without ascribing the success to the orthodoxy of the Emperor, and to the intervention of Saints. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 356. etc.

Theodosius, when he was to engage with Eugenius, shut himself in a Church

• Philostorgius says that he was a Pagan, p. 538.



one night, to pray, and falling asleep, he saw in a vision two men in white apparel, on white horses, who promised him that they would assist him; the one was St. Philip the Apostle, and the other St. John the Evangelist. *Theodoret*, v. 24.

In Tillemont's *Hist. des Emp.* T. v. this important vision is represented *en taille-douce*, in a print, in the frontispiece, as the most signal occurrence in the fourth century.

The story seems to have been borrowed from the old Pagan story of Castor and Pollux, who fought for the Romans, and appeared *equis candidis insidentes*, as the Roman historians inform us. The only thing wanting to complete the parallel was, that the Apostles should have stroked the Emperor's beard, and turned it red.

Whilst the battle was fought, a Dæmoniac at Constantinople was raised up in the air, and began to curse John the Baptist, and to reproach him that he had

been beheaded, and to scream out, It is you who conquer me and destroy my army. *Sozom.* vii. 24.

Either the Devil and Sozomen, or else Theodoret seem to have made a mistake, for the two first ascribe the victory to John the Baptist, and the third to John the Evangelist.

The last Pagan prince who was a formidable enemy to Christianity was *Radagaisus* a king of the Goths. He threatened no less than the ruin of the Roman Empire, and invaded it with an army, as it is said, of four hundred thousand men, about A. D. 405. The Romans were saved from the hand of this Barbarian, and slew him, and obtained a most signal victory, which they ascribed to a particular providence. Tillemont has collected with his usual accuracy what is recorded concerning this great deliverance. *Hist. des Emp.* v. 538. S. Basnage also hath given a large account of it, *Annal.* iii. 212.

Radagaisus had vowed to sacrifice all the Romans to his Gods. The Pagans in Rome and in Italy, who still were numerous, imputed these calamities to the introduction of Christianity, and to the suppression of Paganism, and were disposed to rebel and to reestablish their old religious rites.

But the Romans, commanded by Stilicho, obtained a complete victory, without any loss of men, and Radagaisus, together with his sons, was taken prisoner, and put to death.

Baronius assures us that the victory was owing to the assistance of Ambrose, though Augustin, and Orosius, who give the glory of it to God, might have taught him better.

If bigotry and political godliness did not eat up all shame, Christians would not presume to ascribe a wonderful deliverance to Ambrose, rather than to Jesus Christ, upon the authority of an ob-

296 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

scure mortal, one Paulinus, who wrote a life of Ambrose full of lying miracles, and who yet has not affirmed it.

But, it seems, the divine Providence can do nothing without the intercession of Saints. *Radagaisus besieged Florence. This city was reduced to the utmost streights, when Saint Ambrose who had once retired thither, (and who had now been dead nine years) appeared to a person of the house where he had lodged, and promised him that the city should be delivered from the enemy on the next day. The man told it to the inhabitants, who took courage, and resumed the hopes which they had quite lost: and on the next day came Stilicho with his army. Paulinus, who relates this, learned it from a lady who liv'd at Florence. And this proves what Saint Paulinus says, that God granted the preservation of the Romans to the prayers of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and the other Martyrs and Confessors who were honoured by the Church throughout the Empire. Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. v. p. 540.*



One might have asked Saint Paulinus, the Bishop of Nola ; where wast *thou*, when the Apostles and Martyrs made supplication for the Romans ? didst thou stand by and hear them ? Say no more about it, but go thy ways and cut chips out of *the Cross*, which, as thou hast told us, *grows again as fast as it is diminished.*

*Hunneric*, the Vandal, was an Arian, a cruel Prince, and a most inhuman persecutor of the Consubstantialists, A. D. 484. This Barbarian spared not even those of his own sect, or his own friends and kindred. His end, as Historians relate, was suitable to his iniquities, and such as he would have equally deserved, if he had been a Consubstantialist, and had destroyed the Arians. His sufferings, supposing them to be divine judgments, prove nothing at all as to the controversy : but only this, that God hates tyranny and cruelty, the wickedness of which is a clear and uncontested point.

*Dum diris cruciatibus Ecclesiam Africanam*

298 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

*canam lacerat Hunnericus, sensit non mortalibus, sed Christo injuriam se fecisse, elementis ipsis primum ad pœnas impio irrogandas festinantibus. Pluviâ negatâ, remansit lurida terræ facies: nullis arbores frondibus, nullis segetibus tellus cooperiebatur. Lues gravem animalibus et hominibus cladem immittebat. Juvenum, senum, adolescentium, adolescentularum, puerorum agmina simul et funera passim diffundebantur. Catervatim Carthaginem confluebant animata cadavera. Miseros ea urbe pelli Rex e vestigio jubet, ne contagio deficientium commune pararet etiam exercitui ejus sepulchrum. Neque multo post regio corpori horrenda pœna irrogatur, quam Victoris verbis referemus: Tenuit sceleratissimus Hunnericus dominationem regni, annis septem, mensibus decem, meritorum suorum mortem consummans. Nam putrefactum et ebulliens vermibus non corpus, sed partes corporis ejus videntur esse sepultæ. Multa de suo, vel ex falso rumore petita, tragicæ Hunnerici morti addidit Gregorius Turonensis: Hunnericus post tantum facinus arreptus a Dæmone, qui diu de*

Sanctorum sanguine pastus erat, propriis se moribus laniabat. In quo etiam cruciatu vitam indignam iusta morte finivit.

*Dirum magni regis supplicium ubique locorum clamat,*

Discite iustitiam moniti, nec temnite Christum.

*S. Basnage Ann. iii. p. 570.*

There is nothing improbable in Victor's account ; but yet he is a writer who deals so much in the marvellous, that there is no trusting him. More credit ought to be given to the excellent Thuanus, who thus represents the barbarities and the death of some modern Persecutors.

In the reign of Francis the first, the remainders of the *Vaudois* were massacred by the French Catholics with the utmost brutality. “ The Baron *D’Oppede*, who “ conducted the affair, was called to account for it, and was screened and “ protected by some great men ; but not “ long

300 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ long after, this inhuman wretch was  
“ seized with racking pains in his bow-  
“ els, and died in most miserable anguish,  
“ and God who suffered him to escape  
“ the punishment which his judges ought  
“ to have inflicted upon him, punished  
“ him himself in a severer manner.”

A Roman Monk, called *John*, signa-  
lized himself at that time in persecuting  
these poor innocent people. “ He in-  
“ vented a new kind of torment; he put  
“ their legs into boots full of boiling tal-  
“ low, and then laughing at them he  
“ asked them if they were not well  
“ equipped for their journey.—Having  
“ heard that the Parliament of Aix, by  
“ orders from the King, had condemn-  
“ ed him, he fled to Avignon, where be-  
“ ing screened from men, and from human  
“ courts of justice, he could not escape  
“ divine Vengeance. He was stripped  
“ of all his effects by his domestics, and  
“ reduced to a state of beggary: his bo-  
“ dy was covered all over with loathsome  
“ ulcers, and he lived long in this horri-  
“ ble condition, often wishing for death,  
“ which



“ which came not, till he had endured  
“ dreadful torments. ” See Le Clerc,  
*Bibl. Ch.* xxvii. 1.

Philip de Comines, who wrote the history of *Lewis the eleventh* of France, could not avoid observing that the divine Vengeance was conspicuous in returning to this most wicked Prince the evil which he had inflicted upon others, and in making his punishment suitable to his offences. Many memorable and striking instances of this kind might be produced from modern Historians.

In the Scriptures there are examples of Saints as well as of sinners, who suffered in this life according to the law of retaliation. St. Paul was consenting to the stoning of Stephen, and though God forgave him, yet he permitted him to be used by the Jews, as he and the Jews had used Stephen and other Christians, and he was banished, imprisoned, beaten, scourged, and three times stoned.

It is observable that from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius down to  
Constantine,

302 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Constantine, the Romans, even omitting the Collegues of the Emperors, and those Usurpers who set themselves up against them, had no less than *thirty seven* Emperors, whose reigns, one with another, amount only to *seven* years for each. Take the same space of Time in the English History from William the Conqueror, and you have no more than *eleven* kings, and their reigns will be of *twenty seven* years, one with another.

This very quick succession of the Roman Emperors for the first three centuries, the violent and untimely death by which many of them perished, the Empire often falling into the hands of persons not related to their predecessors, but their enemies and rivals, and not disposed to adopt their private views and animosities, was of singular advantage to Christianity, and made the persecutions less violent and less lasting than they would else have been, and may very reasonably be looked upon as Providential.

Let us now see what the Prophets have delivered concerning these events.

The

The hundred and tenth Psalm is a direct and literal prophecy of Christ :

1. *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.*

2. *The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.*

3. *Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth.*

4. *The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.*

5. *The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath.*

6. *He shall judge among the Heathen, he shall fill the places with the dead bodies: he shall wound the heads over many countries.*

7. *He*

304 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

7. *He shall drink of the brook in the way; therefore shall he lift up his head.*

The second Psalm is of the same kind:

1. *Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?*

2. *The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying,*

3. *Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.*

4. *He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision.*

5. *Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.*

6. *Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion.*

7. *I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.*

8. *Ask*



8. *Ask of me, and I shall give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.*

9. *Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potters vessel.*

10. *Be wise now therefore, O ye kings : be instructed, ye judges of the earth.*

11. *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling.*

12. *Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little : blessed are all they that put their trust in him.*

This Psalm seems in a lower sense applicable to David ; but it suits much better with the Messias, especially when compared with *the hundred and tenth*, which is a key to it, and the Apostles apply it to Christ.

No person ever lived before David, and none ever yet arose after him, to

VOL. III,

U

whom

whom the cxth Psalm could be applied, besides Jesus Christ.

David was a king, he was a great and victorious king, he was a king by divine election and appointment, he was a prophet, he was called a man after God's own heart, not because he was a better man than many of his subjects, for he was guilty of several faults, but because, as a king, he kept up the true religion, and made the laws of God to be observed in his dominions, and never fell into idolatry; and upon all these accounts he could have no superior upon earth, none who could be his Lord. A great king, a promised Messiah as was to arise; but as he was to be the son of David, he must have been in that respect inferior to his father, and it seemed unnatural that David should pay homage to his own child. This difficulty our Saviour proposed to the Jews: they could not solve it, and he would not; but his design was to intimate to them that the Messiah was a greater person than they apprehended, and that though he was inferior to David, as he was the son

son of David, he was superior to him, as he was the son of God.

*While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word.*

Besides, what relation could there be of Lord and servant between David and the Messias, when David was dead, or before the Messias was born, unless the Messias existed before his appearance upon earth, and were the Lord not only of the living, but of the dead, that is, of those who though dead to men, yet lived to him, and were his servants?

David therefore is to be thus understood; The Lord Jehovah hath said to my Lord the Messias, Thou shalt sit at my

right hand, invested with divine power, and next in dignity to me.

In this Psalm there are some expressions which are ambiguous and obscure; but setting aside grammatical and critical difficulties, and attending to those parts of it which are plain, we find it foretold here that a person should arise, who should be greater than David, who should be a king, who should rule in the midst of his enemies, who should be an everlasting priest, and who by the assistance of God should overthrow kings and armies that opposed him. These predictions were evidently accomplished in Christ.

By comparing this Psalm with other prophecies we may observe that the person here mentioned was to be the son of David. It hath been universally agreed upon by Jews and Christians that the Messias should be the son of David, for these reasons.

God promised to David, not only that he should have a son to reign after him, but that the kingdom should be continued  
to



to his family. Thus in the first Book of Samuel, vii. 12. *I will set up thy seed after thee—Thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever.* In Psalm lxxxix. *I have found David my servant--- My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and my covenant shall stand fast with him; his seed will I make to endure for ever.* In the cxxxii<sup>d</sup> Psalm it is also declared; *I will make the horn of David to bud, I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed.* Horn means a king, and the expression of budding is taken from trees, which shoot forth branches.

Isaiah says, *I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.* That is, I will fulfil what I promised to David, lv. 3. And again; *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious, xi. 10. And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, &c. xi. 1.* This was said long

310 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

after the death of David, so that the promised person was not yet come, but was to appear in future times.

Afterwards Jeremiah thus prophesies ; *Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute justice and judgment in the earth— And this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our righteousness. xxiii. 5.*

Zechariah, who prophesied after the return from the captivity, taught the people to expect a great person, *The servant of God, the Branch*, that is, the *Branch of Jesse*, the man whose name was *the Branch*, who should build the temple, and be a *king* and a *priest* upon the throne, vi. 12.

Many other prophecies there are concurring in this, that a person should arise, who should be the son of David, and a great and illustrious Prince ; and he is called *David* by Hosea, Jeremiah, and  
Eze-

Ezekiel. *The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, etc. --- Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, Hosea iii. 4, 5. But they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them, Jeremiah xxx. 9. And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them, I the Lord have spoken it, Ezekiel xxxiv. 23, 24.*

The most probable reason why the Messias is called *David*, is that David was a type of him, and said many things seemingly of himself, which by the Spirit of God were intended of the Messias. Either these prophecies were accomplished in Christ, or they never have been accomplished at all; but with Christ they correspond exactly.

2. The person mentioned in this Psalm was to be greater than David. This is

312 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

too plain to want any farther proof : *The Lord said unto my Lord.* And this was accomplished in Christ, if he was, as we learn from the Gospel, the Son of God in a sense most peculiar and high.

3. He was to be a king. *Sit thou at my right hand : Rule thou in the midst.* This also is evident ; and it was accomplished in Christ, who hath been acknowledged for a king by all his numerous subjects from his resurrection to the present time. To sit at the right hand of God cannot mean less than to be next in honour and dignity to God, and therefore to be exalted not only above all men, but above all creatures. This dignity was never conferred upon any man, except Christ, who, as the Writers of the New Testament affirm, was received up into heaven, and was seen of Stephen appearing at the right hand of God.

But, farther, it may be inferred from this Psalm that he was to be an everlasting king. It is said that he should be king and priest, and an everlasting priest,  
and



and consequently an everlasting king also. It is likewise said, *Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool*, which was never accomplished in any of David's posterity except in Christ, in whom so much of the prediction hath been fulfilled, as to be a sufficient earnest for the completion of the whole promise. Hence St. Paul proves Christ's everlasting kingdom: Christ must reign, says he, 'till all things, and all enemies are subdued and put under his feet. This is not yet accomplished, nor will be till the end of the world; for he hath and he will have his enemies who will not be subject to him; and besides, as he hath promised to overcome Death and to confer everlasting life upon his servants, and as Death still reigns and will reign over them here below, during this state of things, his dominion will not be complete, till Death is no more, and his servants are raised up by him at the last day, to live with him for ever, 1. Cor. xv.

### 314 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

4. It is said, in the third verse, of this person, --- *from the womb of the morning thou hast the dew of thy youth*; which words are obscure. The reading of the LXX is very different and remarkable; *Before the morning star I begat thee.* Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. If this be right, <sup>v</sup> which I take not upon me to determine, it contains an intimation that this great person was the Son of God before the creation, and in an high and peculiar sense, and not like other good men; and in the second Psalm, it is said, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.*

5. In the fourth verse, *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchi-*

<sup>t</sup> A Friend of mine says, *I render the words thus*; From the womb, from that which was thy morning, thy youth was a dew. i. e. as agreeable and refreshing as dew is in hot countries. This is a literal version, and is sense.

<sup>v</sup> See *Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture*, P. 54.

<sup>w</sup> *Sacerdos. aut minister.* Grotius. Vox *Ehohen* significat quidem interdum principem, eumque inti-  
*sedek,*

*sedek*, might also be rendered, \* *Thou art a priest for ever because thou art a just king.*

But what interpretation soever be followed here, it is plain that he was to be an everlasting priest. *The Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever.* This promise is introduced with great solemnity, and confirmed with an oath, and it is of a singular kind, since no such promise is made in the old Testament to any other person. According to the system of the Gospel, it was accomplished in Christ, who is our everlasting Redeemer and Intercessor.

The consequences of this promise were, that the Messias must live for ever,

mæ admissiois, ut diximus ad 2 Sam. viii. 18. 1 Reg. iv. 5. Sed de Rege proprie dicto nusquam occurrit. Ideoque LXX Intt. οὐ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Quod Jesu Christo soli convenit. etc. *Clericus.*

\* See *Critical Notes* etc. *Noster textus Hebræus habet, Secundum meam constitutionem, o Rex mi juste. Grotius.*

and

316 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

and not be subject to the dominion of death, else he could not be an everlasting priest; and that he could have no successor in the priesthood, since it would never be vacant; and that the Jewish Priesthood, and the ceremonial law must be abolished, and give place to another institution and covenant, and that the priesthood must be changed, and pass from the family of Aaron and the tribe of Levi to the family of David, and to the tribe of Judah, whence this Messias was to spring.

*6. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.*

When the Gospel of Christ, first preached at Jerusalem, and thence spreading it self through the world, had been received by a multitude of Jews and Gentiles, this prediction began to be accomplished, and it was farther fulfilled when Christianity was established in the Roman Empire.

7. In this Psalm it is plainly and expressly



pressly foretold that the Messias should be a victorious king, that he should have kings and rulers for his enemies, and that they should be overthrown and perish. This, as we have shewed, was remarkably fulfilled in Christ.

8. In the sixth verse, *He shall wound the heads over many countries*, may be translated, *he shall crush the head (that ruled) over many countries. Confodiet caput quod multis terris præerat. Clericus.*

9. In the seventh verse, *He shall drink of the brook in the way; therefore shall he lift up his head.* That is, says Le Clerc, *He (who was head over many countries) shall drink of the brook in the way; therefore he (the conqueror) shall lift up his head; Maxentius and his host shall be drowned in the Tiber, and lay his head there, and Constantine shall lift up his head, and triumph over him.* This Le Clerc proposes, but modestly and with diffidence. The thought is ingenious, and to drink of the brook may mean to be drowned, as in Homer, *Odyss. Δ. 511.*

318 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐνθ' ἀπόλωλεν, ἐπεὶ πῖεν ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.

Ovid *Epist.* vii. 62.

*Neu bibat æquoreas naufragus hostis  
aquas.*

But perhaps it would be more natural to understand it thus of the same person :  
*As a pursuing conqueror takes a hasty draught at the first fountain in the way, and loses no time in refreshing himself, so God, or the Messias, shall speedily subdue his enemies, and lift up his victorious head.*  
Soon after Diocletian began to persecute, the divine vengeance began to attack him and his wicked Collegues, and swept them off from the earth one after another.

We have shewed the completion of these predictions in the establishment of Christianity, and in the destruction of those tyrants who rose up against it, and who became as the dung of the earth. It is no wonder that our Saviour and his Apostles<sup>y</sup> insisted so much on this Psalm,

<sup>y</sup> Mat. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42.  
Acts ii. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 25. Hebr. i. 13. v. 6.  
vii. 17. as

as on a prophecy, direct, and plain, which when it was accomplished, was so strong a proof of their divine mission, and of the authority both of the Old Testament and of the New.

The Apostles have applied some parts of this Psalm to Christ; and they knew that the whole would be accomplished in him; yet in their discourses and writings they avoided a particular mention of the destruction which should fall upon the persecuting Princes, probably because they would not offend the Roman Emperors, and give malicious men an opportunity of accusing the Christians as bad subjects, and as enemies to the government.

But we will not dissemble another interpretation which hath been given of this Psalm.

“ It was made, say they, by David,  
“ for the use of the people, of his sub-  
“ jects, who were to rehearse it in the  
“ house of God, at the tabernacle.

“ It

320 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ It relates in its primary sense to Da-  
“ vid, and the meaning of the first verse  
“ is, *The Lord Jehovah hath said to my*  
“ *Lord* (king David) *Sit thou* etc. It is  
“ true that David was no *priest*, but the  
“ word *Chohen* is ambiguous, and may  
“ mean either a priest, or an intimate  
“ friend of the king, who hath free ad-  
“ mission to his presence, one of the  
“ great courtiers; according to which  
“ sense the fourth verse may be inter-  
“ preted, *Thou art of all the sons of men,*  
“ *my principal favourite, who hast free*  
“ *access to me.*

“ But then this Psalm, like many  
“ other prophecies, hath a double sense,  
“ and is applicable to the Messias, and is  
“ much more eminently accomplished in  
“ him than it ever was in David.”

This interpretation hath been proposed  
and adopted by Ruarus, and by some  
other Socinians. See *Ruari Epist.* T. ii.  
p. 116.

Now



Now; if we should admit this double sense, yet it must be observed that Christ applied this Psalm to himself, that the Apostles applied it to him, and that their interpretation was fully justified by a long train of various events, and by the accomplishment of the whole prediction in Christ, which is an irrefragable proof that they understood it rightly.

But there is no admitting this double meaning without adopting a precarious hypothesis, contradicting the general opinion of the Jews in the time of Christ, rejecting the version of the LXX, which translates *Chohen*, ἱερεὺς, according to the usual sense of the word, and offering violence to some parts of the Psalm, which cannot be applied to David unless in a sense very low and flat, *sensu valde diluto*. David could not say of himself, *The Lord said unto my Lord*, nor did he sit at the right hand of God, exalted above men and Angels, nor were all his enemies subdued under his feet, nor did they whom he conquered pay him a willing obe-

VOL. III. X dience,

dience, nor was he an everlasting priest, or an everlasting king, nor was his dominion extensive over the Nations and the Gentiles.

*Davidis revera fuisse Psalmum testatur Christus, et Petrus. Uterque ostendit, vi verborum, de Christo agi, non de alio; qua in re non aptantur ei verba, quæ et alii convenire queant, ut interdum fit in vaticiniis; sed statuuntur non aliter posse intelligi.--- Hoc unum non facile cuiquam concessero, hunc Psalmum non ad Jesum Christum solum et quidem directe referri oportere; quod nec diffitebatur H. Grotius, qui ceteroquin insimulatur, quasi vix ullam prophetiam directe ad Christum solum pertinere fassus sit. Quod tamen immerito viro magno objicitur. Clericus. See his Comment on this Psalm.*

THE CONDITION of the Jews under Constantine should now be considered, but I shall take the subject from an earlier date, and offer a few remarks on

on the state of that people from the destruction of Jerusalem to this day.

“HOWSOEVER unentertaining  
“the History may seem to be which we  
“have undertaken, yet it presents to the  
“public view an object worthy of ob-  
“servation, and the greatest prodigy that  
“can be imagined, namely, the prefer-  
“vation of the Jewish people in the  
“midst of the miseries which they have  
“undergone since seventeen hundred  
“years. Religions depend on temporal  
“prosperity; they triumph under the pro-  
“tection of a conqueror; they languish  
“and sink with sinking Monarchies. Pa-  
“ganism which once covered the face of  
“the earth, is extinct. The Christian  
“Church, glorious in its Martyrs, yet  
“was considerably diminished by the  
“persecutions to which it was exposed,  
“nor was it easy to repair the breaches in  
“it made by those acts of violence. But  
“here we behold a Church hated and  
“persecuted for seventeen hundred ages,

“ and yet sustaining itself and widely ex-  
 “ tended. Kings have often employed  
 “ the severity of Edicts and the hand  
 “ of Executioners to ruin it. The se-  
 “ ditious Multitudes by murders and  
 “ massacres have committed outrages  
 “ against it still more violent and tragical.  
 “ Princes and People, Pagans, Maho-  
 “ metans, Christians, disagreeing in so  
 “ many things, have united in the design  
 “ of exterminating it, and have not been  
 “ able to succeed. The *Bush of Moses*,  
 “ surrounded with flames, ever burns,  
 “ and is never consumed. The Jews  
 “ have been expelled, in different times,  
 “ from every part of the world, which  
 “ hath only served to spread them in  
 “ all regions. From age to age they  
 “ have been exposed to misery and  
 “ persecution. Yet still they subsist,  
 “ in spite of the ignominy, and the  
 “ hatred which hath pursued them in  
 “ all places, whilst the greatest Monar-  
 “ chies are fallen, and nothing remains of  
 “ them besides the name.

“ Their



“ Their misery bears its peculiar cha-  
“ racters. In their other captivities God  
“ marked out a time in which he would  
“ be propitious, and break the yoke of  
“ tyranny, and restore to them their lost  
“ liberty. The longest, which was the  
“ Ægyptian captivity, yet lasted only a  
“ few ages. After threescore and ten  
“ years they returned from Babylon, and  
“ the persecution of Antiochus was to  
“ cease after three years and ten days :  
“ but of their present evils God hath  
“ not fixed the expiration.— God com-  
“ forced them under their other distresses  
“ by Heroes, or by inspired men. Eze-  
“ chiel prophesied at Babylon, and Da-  
“ niel, long before the event, pointed  
“ out the Messias. The Maccabees arose  
“ against the kings of Syria, and raised  
“ up the fallen glory of the nation ; but  
“ hitherto none have appeared, besides  
“ false Messiahs, who by their attempts  
“ to shake off the yoke from the people,  
“ have only encreased its weight. The  
“ prophetic succession is extinct, and no  
“ sacred messenger arises to promise the

“ end of miseries which have lasted so  
 “ many ages.

“ Even when God delivered them up  
 “ to Infidels, he preserved a body of  
 “ the nation, by removing it to one  
 “ place. It was entire in the vale of  
 “ Goshen, when they were called out of  
 “ Ægypt. Cyrus easily reunited the tribes  
 “ of Judah and Benjamin, to send them  
 “ back to Jerusalem. One part of the  
 “ nation inhabited the same cities, and  
 “ the Israelites occupied the two borders  
 “ of the river Chabor ; but at the de-  
 “ struction of Jerusalem, and afterwards  
 “ in Adrian’s war, the nation enfeebled  
 “ by unparallel’d massacres, was dispersed  
 “ through all the provinces of the Em-  
 “ pire. The dispersion is as great as it  
 “ ever was, and scarcely are to be found  
 “ the remains of the ten Tribes in the  
 “ East, where formerly they were nume-  
 “ rous and considerable.

“ The Romans, when they made  
 “ themselves masters of Judæa, left to  
 “ its inhabitants a public worship, and  
 “ the

“ the exercise of their laws. The Syna-  
“ gogues, as those of Damascus, judged  
“ with authority of religious affairs, in  
“ which even the Christians were inter-  
“ ested. The high Priest was not with-  
“ out power. There were judges even  
“ in Chaldæa, as it appears from the  
“ history of Sufanna, false as it is. But  
“ not the shadow of sovereign authority  
“ now remains, and yet the nation re-  
“ mains, and consists of millions.

“ The judgments which God has ex-  
“ ercised upon this people are terrible,  
“ extending to the men, the religion, and  
“ the very land in which they dwelt. The  
“ ceremonies essential to their religion  
“ can no more be observed. The Ritual  
“ Law, which cast a splendor on the na-  
“ tional worship, and struck the Pagans so  
“ much that they sent their presents and  
“ their victims to Jerusalem, is absolutely  
“ fallen, for they have no temple, no  
“ altar, no sacrifices. — Their land it self  
“ seems to lie under a never-ceasing curse.  
“ Pagans, Christians, Mohammedans, in a

328 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ word almost all nations have by turns  
 “ seized and held Jerusalem. To the  
 “ Jew only hath God refused the posses-  
 “ sion of this small tract of ground so  
 “ supremely necessary for him, since he  
 “ ought to worship on this mountain. A  
 “ Jewish Writer hath affirmed that it is  
 “ long since any Jew was seen settled  
 “ near Jerusalem: scarcely can they pur-  
 “ chase there six feet of land, for a bury-  
 “ ing-place.

“ In all this there is no exaggeration. I  
 “ am only pointing out known facts, and  
 “ far from having the least design to raise  
 “ an odium against the Nation from its  
 “ miseries, I conclude that it ought to  
 “ be looked upon as one of those prodi-  
 “ gies which we admire without com-  
 “ prehending, since in spite of evils so  
 “ durable, and a patience so long exer-  
 “ cised, it is preserved by a particular  
 “ Providence. The Jew ought to be  
 “ weary of expecting a Messias, who so  
 “ unkindly disappoints his vain hopes,  
 “ and the Christian ought to have his  
 “ at-



“ attention and his regard excited to-  
“ wards men, whom God preserves, for  
“ so great a length of time, under ca-  
“ lamities which would have been the  
“ total ruin of any other people.” *Baf-*  
*nage*, *Hist. des Juifs* iv. 1.

Some have observed that the preservation of the *Gypsies* is as extraordinary as that of the *Jews*; but this is thrown out by way of *jest*, which, like *gravity* and *solemnity* in another sort of writers, often supplies the want of argument. For what comparison between the Jewish nation, and a collection of Strollers of various countries, who perhaps have not existed, as a body, above four hundred years, who far from dogmatizing, seem to be of no religion at all, who never appeared in arms, and made themselves formidable, whom rags and contempt have secured from violent persecution, and who, at the worst, have been only driven from place to place, which to them was no great punishment, for frauds and petty-larcenies?

T. Jackson, in his Theological works, hath given a summary account of the calamities of the Jews from the time of their rebellion against Christ; but he hath not shewed the candour and the caution of Basnage; he is prejudiced against them, treats them over severely, judges too harshly, and pays too much regard to the ridiculous stories and lying slanders which have been raised by Christians against them. One would wonder how zeal could transport a good and learned man to such a degree against this miserable nation. *Vol. i. p. 92, etc.*

Our Saviour said to the Jews, *I am come in my father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* This remarkable prediction of our Lord hath been evidently and frequently fulfilled: for,

In the interval between the resurrection of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem many *false Christs and false prophets* arose, of whom mention is made by St. Luke and by Josephus.

In the reign of Adrian, *Barcochab* pretended to be the Messiah, and perished with his followers.

In the time of Theodosius the younger, A. D. 434. another Impostor arose, called *Moses Cretensis*. He pretended to be a second Moses, sent to deliver the Jews who dwelt in Crete, and promised to divide the sea, and give them a safe passage through it. They assembled together, with their wives and children, and followed him to a promontory. He there commanded them to cast themselves into the sea. Many of them readily obeyed him, and perished in the waters, and many were taken up and saved by fishermen. Upon this, the deluded Jews would have torn the Impostor to pieces, but he escaped them, and was <sup>y</sup> seen no more. *Socrates* vii. 38.

Socrates relates here a story of what happened in his own days. He says not that this fellow wrought any miracles to

<sup>y</sup> αἰφάνης γὰρ ἐγένετο.

be-

bewitch his country-men; unless it be supposed a sort of *miracle*, to make a Jew fling away himself, and his money too. It is plain that the Impostor could propose neither profit nor credit by thus deluding and destroying the Jews; and therefore we may conclude that he was a frantic Enthusiast, and that perhaps in the hurry and bustle, he jumped down himself unseen, and was drowned.

In the reign of Justin, A. D. 520. another false prophèt is said to have appeared, and to have called himself the son of Moses. His name was *Dunaan*. He entered into a city of Arabia Felix, and there he oppressed the Christians; but he was taken prisoner and put to death by Eleſban, an Æthiopian General. See a fuller account of this *Dunaan*, in Fleury H. E. T. vii. p. 272. and in Basnage *Hist. des Juifs*, who says that *Dunaan* was no false Messias, but a king of the Homerites. vi. 20. p. 1375.

The Jews and Samaritans of Palæstine rebelled against the Emperor Justinian,  
A. D.



A. D. 529. and set up one *Julian* for their king, and accounted him the *Messias*; but the Romans made a great slaughter of them, and their king was killed. *J. a Lent.* This rebellion is to be ascribed to the Samaritans, who were oppressed on account of their religion by Justinian, a wrong-headed Prince, and a great persecutor of heretics. See Fleury H. E. T. vii. p. 326.

A. D. 571. *Mohammed* was born in Arabia. He at first professed himself to be the *Messias* who was promised to the Jews, and he drew after him many of them, and so may claim a place in the catalogue of false Christs.

A. D. 721. Another *Impostor*, a Syrian, arose in the time of Leo Isaurus: he called himself the *Messias*, and was received as such by the Jews.

A. D. 1137. A *false Christ* made his appearance in France. He was put to death, and many Jews suffered at the same time, being accused of crucifying a Christian boy once a year.

A. D.

A. D. 1138. The Persians were disturbed by a Jew, who called himself *the Messias*, and collected a formidable army of his country-men. The Persian king submitted to compound the matter with him, and hired him to disband his soldiers. But afterwards he seized and beheaded him, and made the Jews in his dominions pay him back all the money which he had given to their Messias, by which they were reduced to a state of beggary, and to a necessity of selling their children. He continued to treat them very cruelly, and subjected them to all kinds of insults.

In the same century A. D. 1157. a *false Messias* stirred up the Jews at Corduba in Spain; upon which almost all the Jews of that kingdom were destroyed.

A. D. 1167. *Another* arose in the kingdom of Fez, who is mentioned by Maimonides.

In the same year appeared a *false Prophet*, and, as it seems, an Enthusiast also :

it

it was in Arabia. He pretended to be the forerunner of the Messias. When search was made for him, his followers fled, and he was brought before the Arabian king. He was questioned by him, and replied that he was indeed a prophet sent from God. The King then asked him what sign or miracle he could shew, to confirm his mission. Cut off my head, said he, and I will return to life again. The king took him at his word, promising to believe in him if it came to pass, and cut off his head. But the Prophet never attempted to fasten it on again; and the Jews of Arabia had a heavy fine laid upon them. Yet some of them, says Maimonides, were so infatuated as to expect his resurrection.

Not long after this, a Jew who dwelt beyond Euphrates called himself *the Messias*, and gave this for a sign of it, that he was leprous all night, and clean all day. He perished in his attempt.

A. D. 1174. A *Magician* and false

Christ was seen in Persia, who brought the Jews into great tribulation.

A. D. 1176. Another arose in Moravia, who was called *David Almuffer*. He pretended that he could make himself invisible: but he was taken, and put to death, and a heavy fine was laid upon his brethren, the Jews.

Solomon Ben Virgæ mentions another *Impostor*; but we know not in what year or in what place he set up his claim.

A. D. 1199. A famous Cheat and a Rebel exerted himself in Persia, called *David el David*, or *David Alroi*, a learned man, and a Magician, who is reported to have wrought many miracles. He raised an army against the king, but was taken and imprisoned, and having escaped, was again seized, and was beheaded. Benjamin Tudelenfis and Solomon Ben Virgæ have given us an account, abounding with lies, concerning the wonders wrought by this Inchanter.

A. D.



A. D. 1497. We find another Messias, whose name was *Ismael Sophus*, who deluded the Jews in Spain.

A. D. 1500. *Rabbi Lemlem*, a German Jew of Austria, declared himself a fore-runner of the Messias, and pulled down his own oven, promising his brethren that they should bake their bread in the holy Land the next year.

A. D. 1509. Jo. Henricus Majus, in his life of Reuchlin, says that one *Pfefferkorn*, a Jew of Cologne, pretended to be the Messias. *Pfefferkorn* afterwards turned Christian, and joined with James Hochstrat (an Inquisitor, and a man thoroughly qualified for his vile office) to plague the Jews and to persecute Reuchlin. This quarrel excited some Wit to write the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, in which Hochstrat and his stupid Monks and Doctors are set in a ridiculous light, and make a very drole figure. Bayle gives an account of these disputes in his *Dict.* HOCHSTRAT.

338 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

A. D. 1534. In Spain, *Rabbi Salomo Malcho*, giving out that he was the *Messias*, was burnt by Charles the fifth ; and the Christians were so superstitious, that they stopped the Rabbi's mouth, when they brought him to the stake, lest by uttering some charm, he should escape out of their hands. The poor Wretch was a sort of Martyr, for it is said that he might have saved his life, if he would have renounced Judaism.

A. D. 1615. A *false Christ* arose in the East Indies, and was followed by the Portuguese Jews.

A. D. 1624. Another in the Low Countries pretended to be *the Messias*, of the family of David, and of the line of Nathan. He promised to destroy Rome, and to overthrow the kingdom of Antichrist, and the Turkish empire:

“ A. D. 1666. This was a year of  
“ great expectation, and some wonderful  
“ thing was looked for by many. This  
“ was a fit time for an impostor to set  
up ;

“ up; and accordingly lying reports were  
“ carried about. It was told about that  
“ great multitudes marched from un-  
“ known parts to the remote deserts of  
“ Arabia, and they were supposed to be  
“ the ten Tribes of Israel, who have been  
“ dispersed for many ages; that a ship  
“ was arrived in the north parts of Scot-  
“ land with sails and cordage of silk,  
“ that the mariners spake nothing but  
“ Hebrew, that on the Sails was this  
“ Motto, THE TWELVE TRIBES OF IS-  
“ RAEL. Thus were credulous men  
“ possessed at that time.

“ Then it was that *Sabatai Sevi* ap-  
“ peared at Smyrna, and professed him-  
“ self to be the Messias. He promised  
“ the Jews deliverance and a prosperous  
“ kingdom. This which he promised  
“ they firmly believed. The Jews now  
“ attended to no business, discoursed of  
“ nothing but of their return, and be-  
“ lieved Sabatai to be the Messias as firm-  
“ ly as we Christians believe any article  
“ of faith. A Right Reverend person,  
Y 2 then

340 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ then in Turkey, told me that meet-  
 “ ing with a Jew of his acquaintance  
 “ at Aleppo, he asked him what he  
 “ thought of Sabatai. The Jew replied,  
 “ that, he believed him to be the Messias,  
 “ and that he was so far of that belief,  
 “ that, if he should prove an impostor, he  
 “ would then turn Christian. It will be  
 “ very fit I should be very particular in  
 “ this relation, because the history is so  
 “ very surprising and remarkable; and  
 “ we have the account of it from those  
 “ who were then in Turkey, and are  
 “ now alive. I am so well satisfied as to  
 “ the facts, that I dare vouch for the  
 “ truth of the relation, and appeal for  
 “ the truth of it to very many persons of  
 “ great credit, who are now alive.

“ *Sabatai Sevi* was the Son of *Mordecai*  
 “ *Sevi*, a mean Jew of Smyrna. Sabatai  
 “ was very bookish, and arrived to a great  
 “ skill in the Hebrew learning. He was  
 “ the author of a new doctrine, and for it  
 “ was expelled the city. He went thence  
 “ to *Salonichi*, of old called Thessalonica,  
 “ where



“ where he married a very handsome  
“ woman, but was divorced from her.  
“ Then he travelled into the Morea, then  
“ to Tripoli, Gaza, and Jerusalem. By  
“ the way he picked up a third wife. At  
“ Jerusalem he began to reform the Jews  
“ constitutions, and abolish one of their  
“ solemn fasts, and communicated his de-  
“ sign of professing himself the Messias  
“ to one Nathan. He was pleased with  
“ it, and sets up for his *Elias* or forerun-  
“ ner, and took upon him to abolish all  
“ the Jewish fasts, as not befitting,  
“ when the Bridegroom was now come.  
“ Nathan prophesies that the Messias  
“ should appear before the Grand Seig-  
“ nior in less than two years, and take  
“ from him his crown, and lead him in  
“ chains.

“ At Gaza, Sabatai preached repen-  
“ tance, together with a faith in himself,  
“ so effectually, that the people gave  
“ themselves up to their devotions and  
“ alms. The noise of this Messias began  
“ to fill all places. Sabatai now resolves

342 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ for Smyrna, and then for Constanti-  
“ nople. Nathan writes to him from  
“ Damascus; and thus he begins his let-  
“ ter : *To the King, our king, Lord of*  
“ *Lords, who gathers the dispersed of*  
“ *Israel, who redeems our captivity, the*  
“ *man elevated to the height of all subli-*  
“ *mity, the Messias of the God of Jacob,*  
“ *the true Messias, the celestial Lion, Sa-*  
“ *batai Sevi.*

“ And now throughout Turkey the  
“ Jews were in great expectation of glo-  
“ rious times. They now were devout  
“ and penitent, that they might not ob-  
“ struct the good which they hoped for.  
“ Some fasted so long, that they were  
“ famished to death ; others buried them-  
“ selves in the earth till their limbs grew  
“ stiff; some would endure melting wax  
“ dropped on their flesh ; some rolled in  
“ snow, others in a cold season would  
“ put themselves into cold water ; and  
“ many whipped themselves. Business  
“ was laid aside, superfluities of household  
“ utensils were sold ; the poor were pro-  
“ vided

“ vided for by immense contributions.  
“ Sabatai comes to Smyrna, where he  
“ was adored by the people, though the  
“ *Chacham* contradicted him, for which  
“ he was removed from his office. There  
“ he in writing styles himself *the only and*  
“ *first-born son of God, the Messias, the*  
“ *Saviour of Israel*. And though he met  
“ with some opposition, yet he prevailed  
“ there at last, to that degree, that some  
“ of his followers prophesied, and fell  
“ into strange extasies: four hundred men  
“ and women prophesied of his growing  
“ kingdom; and young infants who  
“ could hardly speak, would plainly pro-  
“ nounce *Sabatai, Messias, and Son of*  
“ *God*. The people were for a time pos-  
“ sessed, and voices heard from their  
“ bowels; some fell into trances, foamed  
“ at the mouth, recounted their future  
“ prosperity, their visions of the Lion of  
“ Judah, and the triumphs of Sabatai.  
“ All which (says the Relator) were cer-  
“ tainly true, being effects of Diabolical  
“ delusions, as the Jews themselves have  
“ since confessed unto me.

“ Now the Impostor swells and af-  
 “ fumes. Whereas the Jews in their  
 “ synagogues were wont to pray for  
 “ the Grand Seignior he orders those  
 “ prayers to be forborn for the future,  
 “ thinking it an indecent thing to  
 “ pray for him who was shortly to  
 “ be his captive; and instead of pray-  
 “ ing for the Turkish emperor, he ap-  
 “ points prayers for himself, as another  
 “ author relates. And (as my author  
 “ *Joannes a Lent* goes on) he elected  
 “ princes to govern the Jews in their  
 “ march towards the holy land, and to  
 “ minister Justice to them when they  
 “ should be possessed of it. These Prin-  
 “ ces were men well known in the city  
 “ of Smyrna at that time. The people  
 “ now were pressing to see some miracle  
 “ to confirm their faith, and to convince  
 “ the Gentiles: Here the Impostor was  
 “ puzzled, though any juggling trick  
 “ would have served their turn. But  
 “ the credulous people supplied this de-  
 “ fect. When Sabatai was before the  
 “ Cadi (or Justice of peace) some affirm-  
 “ ed



“ed they saw a pillar of fire between  
“him and the Cadi; and after some had  
“affirmed it, others were ready to swear  
“it, and did swear it also; and this was  
“presently believed by the Jews of that  
“city. He that did not now believe him  
“to be the Messias, was to be shunned  
“as an excommunicate person. The  
“Impostor now declares that he was call-  
“ed of God to see Constantinople, where  
“he had much to do. He ships him-  
“self, to that end, in a Turkish *Saick*,  
“in Jan. 1666. He had a long and  
“troublesome voyage: he had not pow-  
“er over the sea and winds. The Vifi-  
“er, upon the news, sends for him,  
“and confines him to a loathsome pri-  
“son. The Jews pay him their visits;  
“and they of this city are now as infa-  
“tuated as those of Smyrna. They for-  
“bid traffic, and refused to pay their  
“debts, Some of our English merchants  
“not knowing how to recover their debts  
“from the Jews, took this occasion to  
“visit Sabatai, and make their complaints  
“to him against his Subjects; where-  
upon

346 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ upon he wrote this following letter to  
“ the Jews:

“ *To you of the nation of the Jews, who*  
“ *expect the appearance of the Messias, and*  
“ *the Salvation of Israel, peace without*  
“ *end. Whereas we are informed that you*  
“ *are indebted to several of the English*  
“ *nation, it seemeth right unto us to or-*  
“ *der you to make satisfaction to these*  
“ *your just debts; which if you refuse to*  
“ *do, and not obey us herein, Know you*  
“ *that then you are not to enter with us*  
“ *into our joys and dominions.*

“ Sabatai remained a prisoner in Con-  
“ stantinople by the space of two months.  
“ The Grand Vizier, designing for Can-  
“ dia, thought it not safe to leave him  
“ in the city, during the grand Seig-  
“ nior's absence and his own. He  
“ therefore removed him to the *Dar-*  
“ *danelli*; a better air indeed, but yet  
“ out of the way; and consequently  
“ importing less danger to the city:  
“ which occasioned the Jews to con-  
“ clude that the Turks could not, or  
“ durst

“ durst not take away his life; which  
“ had, they concluded, been the surest  
“ way to have removed all jealousy.

“ The Jews flocked in great num-  
“ bers to the castle where he was a  
“ prisoner; not only those that were  
“ near, but from Poland, Germany,  
“ Legorn, Venice, and other places:  
“ they received Sabatai's blessing, and  
“ promises of advancement. The Turks  
“ made use of this confluence; they  
“ raised the price of their lodgings and  
“ provisions, and put their price upon  
“ those who desired to see Sabatai, for  
“ their admittance. This profit stop-  
“ ped their mouths, and no complaints  
“ were for this cause sent to Adrianople.

“ Sabatai, in this confinement, ap-  
“ points the manner of celebrating his  
“ own nativity. He commands the  
“ Jews to keep it on the ninth day of  
“ the month *Ab*, and to make it a day  
“ of great joy, to celebrate it with plea-  
“ sing meats and drinks, with illumi-  
“ nations and music. He obligeth them  
“ to

348 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ to acknowledge the love of God in  
“ giving them that day of consolation  
“ for the birth of their king Messias,  
“ Sabatai Sevi, his servant and first born  
“ Son in love.

“ I only observe by the way the inso-  
“ lence of this Impostor. This day  
“ was a solemn day of fasting among the  
“ Jews formerly, as I have shewed else-  
“ where, in memory of the burning of  
“ the Temple by the Chaldees: several  
“ other sad things happened in this month,  
“ as the Jews observe; that then and  
“ upon the same day the second Tem-  
“ ple was destroyed; and that in this  
“ month it was decreed in the wilder-  
“ nesses that the Israelites should not enter  
“ into Canaan, etc. Sabatai was born  
“ on this day; and therefore the fast  
“ must be turned into a feast: whereas  
“ in truth, it had been well for the  
“ Jews had he not been born at all; and  
“ much better for himself, as will ap-  
“ pear from what follows. But I return  
“ to my Author,

“ The



“ The Jews of the city paid Sabatai  
“ Sevi great respect. They decked their  
“ Synagogues with S. S. in letters of  
“ gold, and made for him in the wall a  
“ crown; they attributed the same titles  
“ and prophecies to him which we ap-  
“ ply to our Saviour.

“ He was also during this imprison-  
“ ment visited by pilgrims from all parts,  
“ that had heard his story. Among  
“ whom *Nehemiah Cohen* from Poland  
“ was one, a man of great learning in  
“ the Kabbala and eastern tongues;  
“ who desired a conference with Saba-  
“ tai, and at the conference maintained  
“ that, according to the Scripture, there  
“ ought to be a twofold Messias; one  
“ the son of Ephraim, a poor and  
“ despised teacher of the Law; the other  
“ the son of David, to be a conqueror.  
“ Nehemiah was content to be the for-  
“ mer, the son of Ephraim, and to  
“ leave the glory and dignity of the lat-  
“ ter to Sabatai. Sabatai, for what ap-  
“ pears, did not dislike this. But here  
“ lay

350 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ lay the ground of the quarrel: Nehe-  
“ miah taught that the son of Ephraim  
“ ought to be the forerunner of the son  
“ of David, and to usher him in: and  
“ Nehemiah accused Sabatai of too great  
“ forwardness, in appearing as the son  
“ of David, before the son of Ephraim  
“ had led him the way. Sabatai could  
“ not brook this doctrine; for he might  
“ fear that the son of Ephraim, who  
“ was to lead the way, might pretend  
“ to be the son of David, and so leave  
“ him in the lurch; and therefore he  
“ excluded him from any part or share  
“ in this matter; which was the occa-  
“ sion of the ruin of Sabatai, and all  
“ his glorious designs.

“ Nehemiah being disappointed, goes  
“ to Adrianople, and informs the great  
“ Ministers of state against Sabatai, as a  
“ lewd and a dangerous person to the  
“ government, and that it was necessary  
“ to take him out of the way. The  
“ Grand Seignior being informed of this  
“ sends for Sabatai; who, much deject-  
“ ed

“ed, appears before him. The Grand  
“Seignior requires a miracle, and chuses  
“one himself, and it was this; that Sa-  
“batai should be stripped naked, and set  
“as a mark for his archers to shoot at;  
“and if the arrows did not pierce his  
“flesh, he would own him to be the  
“Messias. Sabatai had not faith enough  
“to bear up under so great a trial. The  
“Grand Seignior let him know that he  
“would forthwith impale him, and that  
“the stake was prepared for him, unless  
“he would turn Turk. Upon which  
“he consented to turn Mahometan, to  
“the great confusion of the Jews.  
“And yet some of the Jews were so  
“vain as to affirm that it was not Saba-  
“tai himself, but his shadow, that pro-  
“fessed the religion, and was seen in the  
“habit of a Turk: so great was their  
“obstinacy and infidelity, as if it were  
“a thing impossible to convince these  
“deluded and infatuated wretches.

“After all this, several of the Jews  
“continued to use the forms, in their  
“public

352 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ public worship, prescribed by this  
“ Mahometan Meffias; which obliged  
“ the principal Jews of Constantinople  
“ to fend to the fynagogue of Smyrna, to  
“ forbid this practice. During these things,  
“ the Jews, instead of minding their  
“ trade and traffick, filled their letters  
“ with news of Sabatai their Meffias, and  
“ his wonderful works. They reported  
“ that when the Grand Seignior sent to  
“ take him, he caused all the messengers,  
“ that were sent, to die; and that when  
“ other Janizaries were sent, they all fell  
“ dead by a word of his mouth; and be-  
“ ing requested to do it, that he caused  
“ them to revive again. They added,  
“ that though the prison where Sabatai  
“ lay was barr’d and fastened with  
“ strong iron locks, yet he was seen to  
“ walk through the streets with a nume-  
“ rous train: that the shackles which  
“ were upon his neck and feet did not  
“ only fall off, but were turned into  
“ gold, with which Sabatai gratified his  
“ followers. Upon the fame of these  
“ things, the Jews of Italy sent legates  
“ to



“ to Smyrna, to inquire into the truth  
“ of these matters. When the Legates  
“ arrived at Smyrna, they heard of the  
“ news that Sabatai was turned Turk,  
“ to their very great confusion : but go-  
“ ing to visit the brother of Sabatai, he  
“ endeavoured to persuade them that Sa-  
“ batai was still the true Messiah ; that  
“ it was not Sabatai that went about in  
“ the habit of a Turk, but his Angel or  
“ Spirit ; that his body was taken in-  
“ to heaven, and should be sent down  
“ again when God should think it a fit  
“ season. He added that Nathan, his  
“ forerunner, who had wrought many  
“ miracles, would soon be at Smyrna ;  
“ that he would reveal hidden things to  
“ them, and confirm them. But this  
“ Elias was not suffered to come into  
“ Smyrna ; and though the Legates saw  
“ him elsewhere, they received no satis-  
“ faction from him at all.

“ There appeared another Impostor  
“ in the year 1682. one *Rabbi Morde-*  
“ *chai* a Jew of Germany, a man famous  
“ among his countrymen for his learn-

354 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ ing, and austere kind of life. He  
 “ was also much cried up for his prophe-  
 “ cies, which he uttered, about five  
 “ years before, at Prague and other pla-  
 “ ces. He was a very sharp reprov-  
 “ er of vice, and was for that reason common-  
 “ ly called *Mochiab*, i. e. *the Reprover*.  
 “ He was so vain as to profess himself  
 “ to be the Messias; and not only to  
 “ require the Jews to salute him as such,  
 “ but upon the matter to adore him.  
 “ The Italian Jews gave him credit, and  
 “ so did many of the Jews of Germany  
 “ also, whither he came out of Italy. We  
 “ are told that he was mightily caressed  
 “ in Italy, and received for the Messias;  
 “ though the Jews of that place, after  
 “ they saw their error, did not care to  
 “ own him. A certain Jew that by or-  
 “ der of the Jews called him into Italy,  
 “ tells us, that, upon conversing with  
 “ him, he found him to be an Inchanter,  
 “ and very silly; that he thereupon war-  
 “ ned the Jews not to believe him: upon  
 “ which the credulous Jews were so en-  
 “ raged that they treated their monitor  
 “ very

“very maliciously, and dismissed him  
“from the place of his abode. They  
“withall threatned him very severely,  
“if he durst speak evil any more of  
“their Messias: that this Jew continu-  
“ing to disparage this Impostor, the  
“Italian Jews were so enraged, that  
“they endeavoured to cast him out of  
“the place where he was settled, and  
“declared that whosoever should do him  
“mischief, or bear false witness against  
“this person, who defamed their Messias,  
“should be esteemed guiltless.” *Kidder.*

*Joannes a Lent* wrote a *Schediasma de Judæorum Pseudo-Messiiis*. Bishop Kidder treated the same subject in his *Demonstration of the Messias*, and made use of this *Schediasma*; and I have borrowed from them both. Kidder’s Book contains much useful erudition delivered in a slovenly and plebeian style, as may be seen in this specimen. *De La Croix*, in his *Relation of the Othoman Empire*, hath also given us an ample account, and many curious and entertaining

356 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

particularities of *Sabatai Sevi*, who when he had apostatized, preached at Constantinople, and drew over many Jews to profess Mohammedism. At last he was committed to prison for the rest of his days, and died A. D. 1679. La Croix saw him, and heard him preach.

With *Rabbi Mordecai* endeth the history of the false Messiahs, and the Jews (I think) have had none since. It may seem strange that they should have rejected Christ who gave them so many proofs of his mission, and yet should follow every Impostor, who pretended to be the Messiah without offering any sufficient or even plausible evidence of it. The reason is plain: Our Saviour by not setting up a temporal kingdom, dashed all their worldly views at once; but the other claimers of the title of Messiah began with promises of delivering them from their enemies, and restoring to them their country and their lost liberties.

Let us now go back to the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. The  
Jews,



Jews, who escaped this slaughter, remained in a poor condition, in various parts of the Roman <sup>2</sup> Empire.

*Iis autem, qui in Judæa remanserant, Titus imperavit ut — nullus sabbatum deinceps servaret; nullus a menstruata muliere se contineret, quemadmodum ex tractatu Talmudico Megilla clarum est. J. a Lent.*

Was ever any thing so absurd? and who, but a *Talmudist*, or a *Cabbalist*, could take it into his silly head to conceive that Titus would have published such a decree, to plague the poor Jews?

— *atque equidem, —*  
*Tum etiam, si nolit, cogam ut cum illa una cubet. Terent. Adelph. v. 3.*

This good-natur'd Emperor was so far from persecuting, that he pitied and protected them; and when he was at

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the state of the Jews from the destruction of Jerusalem to the end of the fifth century, their Ecclesiastical government, their Colleges, their Talmud, or Deuteroses, their Rabbins, Doctors, Patriarchs, and Apostles, there are some curious remarks in Pezron, *Défense de l'Antiquité des Temps.*

358 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Antioch, and the people there earnestly importuned him to banish the Jews from that city, he checked them, and said, Where would you have these unhappy men go? they have now no country and city of their own to receive them. *Josephus* B. J. vii. 5.

Domitian succeeded Titus, and was a cruel and worthless prince, who oppressed all his subjects, but particularly the Jews. He imposed heavy tributes upon them which they were ill able to pay, and exacted them with great rigour and insolence.

After this, in the time of Trajan, the Jews grew weary of their dependency and of the Roman yoke, and raised a rebellion in Libya, Ægypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia; they exercised all sorts of iniquities and cruelties, and slew an innumerable multitude of people. If they had not been infatuated, they would never have chosen such a time to rebel, when the Romans had one of the greatest, bravest, and wisest Emperors that ever reigned, who understood war perfectly, and

and who loved it too much, for with many accomplishments he had that defect. This revolt brought on a war between the Jews and Romans: battles were fought, and the Jews were beaten, and severely punished.

After Trajan, Adrian was Emperor, who also was a great and powerful prince, and who took care to maintain numerous and disciplined forces. Under him the Jews rebelled again in Palæstine, headed by one *Barcochab*, an impostor and a false Prophet, who was a robber and a murderer, and ravaged the country, and did incredible mischief.

Encouraged by this Villain, the Jews drew together and attempted to settle at Jerusalem, whereby they provoked Adrian to send an army against them, which took Jerusalem and destroyed it down to the ground a second time, and slew all the Jews that were to be found, not sparing even the infants. If we may believe the Jewish writers, their nation at that time suffered calamities not less

360 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History:*

severe nor less extensive than those under Vespasian. It is said that there died by sword, famine, sickness, and fire, five hundred and eighty thousand persons. The surviving Jews were sold in the markets, like beasts, to any who would purchase them, for a small price.

When this war was thus ended, Adrian forbid all the Jews on pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem. It is said by some ancient writers, that once a year they purchased leave to approach their old city, and there to fast and weep over its ruins.

Adrian then rebuilt a city near the place where Jerusalem stood, gave it a new name, peopled it with Pagans, and made it a Roman colony.

It appears from some passages in history that not long after this, under Antoninus Pius, the Jews rose and rebelled again, and were repressed. It is astonishing how after so many calamities they should have had the resolution and the strength to appear in arms.

Under



Under his successor Marcus Aurelius, one of the best emperors that ever lived, they were so foolish and infatuated as to join themselves to a base worthless Rebel, who rose up against so good a Master: but the Emperor forgave them, and shewed them more mercy than they deserved.

Under Severus they were troublesome and did something that provoked him to make war against them, in which he had the advantage. This emperor, who was of a cruel disposition, published a rigid edict against them, and threatned to punish any of his subjects who should embrace their religion.

The conversion of Constantine produced a great revolution, by which Christianity became the established religion. And now the Jews were subject to Christian, as they had been before to Pagan Emperors; but this revolution brought with it no advantage to them: it was rather a detriment.

362 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ The Jews were not much happier  
“ under Christian Emperors than they  
“ had been under the reign of Idolaters.  
“ Their condition varied according to the  
“ temper of their Rulers. Christians had  
“ suffered so much from persecution, that  
“ they could not instantly change their  
“ maxims and their notions about it.  
“ Constantine contented himself with  
“ making some laws which laid some re-  
“ straint on the liberty of the Jews, though  
“ they were the objects of his hatred :  
“ but the Christians insensibly followed  
“ the bent of corrupted nature which  
“ inclines us to torment and punish those  
“ who contradict us in matters of re-  
“ ligion. Even the Councils, which  
“ ought to have been more equitable,  
“ gave into this spirit, and became the  
“ Incendiaries which inflamed the Princes  
“ against the poor remains of this un-  
“ happy nation. We often make our  
“ boasts of the prevailing influence of Hu-  
“ manity, and imagine that the dictates  
“ of nature suffice to teach us compassion  
“ for our fellow-creatures. But Pride is  
“ ano-

“ another principle in us, which is more  
“ prevalent than compassion ; and pride  
“ excites our indignation when we see  
“ a body of persons who think differently from us, and who assume the  
“ liberty to dispute against those truths of  
“ which we judge our selves to be in  
“ possession. Humanity speaks first, and  
“ pleads for gentleness and forbearance ;  
“ but Pride bids her be silent, and hardens the heart against these softer impressions. Thus persecutions arise in  
“ every religion ; whilst the teachers  
“ are inclined to look upon all opposition  
“ made to the doctrines of which they are  
“ the expounders and the defenders, as  
“ so many personal attacks upon themselves. Hence Councils often authorise  
“ and begin those oppressions, which  
“ Princes afterwards carry to the utmost  
“ rage and excess.” *Basnage Hist. des Juifs*, vi. 14.

The Council of Toledo A. D. 633.  
made a cruel decree, that all the children  
of Jews should be taken away from their  
parents

364 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

parents and put into monasteries, or into the hands of religious persons, to be instructed in Christianity. *Fleury* H. E. viii. 367.

“ The first event to be found in the  
“ life of Constantine, relating to the Jews,  
“ is reported by Zonaras. This historian  
“ informs us that they had a conference  
“ at Rome with Helena (the mother of  
“ Constantine) who was not yet convert-  
“ ed. They represented to this Princess,  
“ that, if her son had done well in abo-  
“ lishing Paganism and its idols, he  
“ was not much nearer to salvation,  
“ since, instead of worshiping the Heroes  
“ of Pagan antiquity, he adored a man  
“ who had been crucified in later times.  
“ Helena, who was religious, and dis-  
“ quieted on account of her son, obliged  
“ the Jewish Doctors to hold a confe-  
“ rence with Pope Silvester, who soon  
“ triumphed over these enemies of Chri-  
“ stianity. But whilst they were dis-  
“ puting, a Magician called *Zambres*,  
“ whom the Rabbins had brought with  
“ them,



“ them, caused an ox to fall down dead  
“ at the foot of Silvester. The miracle  
“ disconcerted not the Prelate, for he  
“ raised the ox to life; and then all  
“ the persons present, acknowledging in  
“ the Pope a power superior to that of  
“ the Magician, received baptism, and  
“ Helena also desired to be instructed  
“ in the faith. This is the story of  
“ a Monk: but as there are in the  
“ world persons of all sorts, and un-  
“ derstandings of all sizes, if any should  
“ be found credulous enough to digest  
“ this conference, this miracle, and the  
“ sudden conversion that followed it,  
“ he may have recourse to the authority  
“ of an Arabian historian, who assures  
“ that twelve thousand Jews and Pa-  
“ gans, without counting women and  
“ children, received baptism at Rome  
“ under the reign of Constantine. Abul-  
“ pharagius indeed speaks not of the mi-  
“ racle; but by tacking together the  
“ account of the Arab, and that of the  
“ Greek Monk, the latter event may be  
“ looked upon as the consequence of the  
“ former,

366 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ former, and the conversion of so great  
“ a number as a proof and an effect  
“ of the resurrection of the ox. ” *Basnage*  
*Hist. des Juifs* vi. 14. § 2.

It is to be supposed that the Magician  
whispered in the ear of the ox the *ineffable*  
*name*, which struck him dead ; and  
it is a wonder that Zonaras did not think  
of it. Perhaps the name of this Magician  
should be not *Zambres*, but *Jambres*,  
who must have been an old man indeed,  
if he was the same that *contended with*  
*Moses*. See the Remarks of S. Basnage  
on this Fable. *Ann.* ii. 660.

The zeal which Constantine had for  
Christianity set him against the Jews,  
as they were enemies to the Gospel. He  
subjected to punishment those who should  
become proselytes to Judaism, and he  
ruled the Jews with a strict and heavy  
hand.

He ordered Churches to be built,  
where they were necessary, and where  
they were not, as in those towns and vil-

vil-

villages which were inhabited almost only by Jews, which must have been a great mortification to that people.

He made a law, as an ancient author tells us, which condemned those, who should speak evil of Christ, to lose half their estate.

In his time, as some relate, the Jews endeavoured, not by arms and violence, but in a silent and quiet way to steal a settlement at Jerusalem, and to build themselves a temple, or some little edifice, which they would have called a temple : of which Constantine being apprized, he is said to have cut off the ears of those who had been the forwardest in this attempt, and to have ordered them to be sent to their several abodes with this mark of his displeasure.

“ It is affirmed that Constantine persecuted the Jews, and Chrysostom assures us, that they assembled to rebuild Jerusalem, and that this Prince, offended at their rashness and impudence,  
cut

368 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ cut off their ears, and dispersed them as  
“ fugitive slaves, through all the provinces  
“ of the Empire. Eutychius adds, that  
“ Constantine obliged them all to be  
“ baptized, and to eat pork at Easter.  
“ Persecution can hardly be carried fur-  
“ ther than this : but I doubt whether  
“ the facts be true. St. Chrysostom  
“ hath great authority in the Church, yet  
“ it is not always safe to trust him as  
“ an historian ; and indeed the Jews  
“ themselves say, and Abulpharagius con-  
“ firms it, that it was the Emperor  
“ Adrian who cut off their ears, and sold  
“ them as slaves in the markets. Besides,  
“ Jerusalem was rebuilt in the reign of  
“ Constantine, its Bishop had assisted at  
“ the Nicene Council ; and the Empe-  
“ ror adorned it with such magnificent  
“ structures, that Eusebius told him, in  
“ a <sup>2</sup> *profane manner*, that he had built  
“ the new Jerusalem foretold by the Pro-  
“ phets. How then could the Jews mu-

<sup>2</sup> A man must be in a quarrelsome humour to treat Eusebius so roughly for such a trifle.



“ tiny and assemble there to do what  
“ was already done? Lastly, in the Theo-  
“ odorian Code, although there be many  
“ laws, under the name of Constantine,  
“ against the Jews, there is not one  
“ which orders them to have their ears  
“ cut off, to be baptized, and to eat  
“ swine’s flesh.

“ But this Prince published several  
“ Edicts, which shew the condition and  
“ the unquiet temper of the Jews in  
“ his time. The first is one of the most  
“ important. It was made, if I mistake  
“ not, on account of Joseph, who had  
“ abandoned the Synagogue, to embrace  
“ Christianity. The Jews vexed at his  
“ conversion, persecuted him even in his  
“ own house; and having found him  
“ reading the Gospel, they took the book  
“ from him, loaded him with insults  
“ and blows, and dragged him to the  
“ Synagogue, where they scourged him  
“ cruelly. Not content with these out-  
“ rages, they flung him into the river  
“ Cydnus, whose current carrying him

370 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

“ out of their sight, they had the joy to  
 “ think that he was drowned : but God  
 “ preserved his life. He received bap-  
 “ tism, and made himself known at court,  
 “ and obtained leave from the Emperor to  
 “ build Churches in divers places where  
 “ there never had been any before. The  
 “ Jews were then settled at Diocæsarea,  
 “ Tiberias, Nazareth and Capernaum,  
 “ and had so engrossed those cities that  
 “ they would suffer no strangers there,  
 “ not even the Samaritans. Joseph un-  
 “ dertook to introduce Christianity in-  
 “ to these cities, and began to build  
 “ Churches in them. At Tiberias he  
 “ met with an opposition which pro-  
 “ cured him the favour of a miraculous  
 “ assistance. There was in that town a  
 “ large edifice which had been intended  
 “ for a temple to Adrian : as it had not  
 “ been finished, there was a design to use  
 “ it for a Bagnio. Joseph was resolved  
 “ to make it a Church, and wanting  
 “ lime, he built some furnaces without  
 “ the city for that purpose. The Jews

“ irri-

“ irritated at his attempt, had recourse, as  
“ Epiphanius relates it, to magic arts,  
“ and they were so successful that the  
“ fire could not be kindled, nor any  
“ lime be made. Joseph, vexed at  
“ such an unforeseen incident, went out  
“ from the city, followed by a great num-  
“ ber of people, whose curiosity led them  
“ to see what he would do. When he  
“ came to the place, he made the sign  
“ of the cross, and invoking the name of  
“ Jesus over some water which he had  
“ brought in a large vessel, endued it  
“ with a power to dissipate the inchant-  
“ ment, and to kindle the fire : and  
“ flinging some of it into each of the fur-  
“ naces, the wood instantly took fire,  
“ and the flames appeared. This mira-  
“ cle converted a great number of the  
“ Jews ; but the rest remained hardened,  
“ and ceased not to oppose the building  
“ of the Temple, so that only a part of  
“ it was finished, in which a small Church  
“ was erected.

“ Epiphanius <sup>a</sup> seems to have been  
 “ thoroughly persuaded of the truth of  
 “ this miracle. As for us, we shall only  
 “ observe that the Jews were still power-  
 “ ful under Constantine, since they  
 “ possessed four towns, one of which  
 “ was Nazareth, where Christ had been  
 “ brought up. Their numbers made  
 “ them insolent, for they assaulted  
 “ those who went over to Christianity,  
 “ and publicly opposed the execution  
 “ of the Imperial orders for the building  
 “ of Churches.

“ This was what obliged Constantine  
 “ to publish the edict of which we have  
 “ been speaking. He upbraids them,  
 “ *that when any person had a mind to*  
 “ *quit their religion, they stoned him or*  
 “ *cast him in the fire:* and he condemns  
 “ them and their accomplices to the same  
 “ punishment. We see here the traces of  
 “ those transports of zeal, by which they

<sup>a</sup> See the whole history of Joseph in Tillemont  
 H. E. vii. 290. It is a curious Legend, and it rests  
 upon the authority of Epiphanius.



“ thought themselves authorized to kill  
“ those whom they surprized in any fla-  
“ grant crime. These were pretended to  
“ be precepts of the Oral Law, and  
“ it was alledged that Phineas had exe-  
“ cuted the verbal orders of Moses. A-  
“ nother example also was produced  
“ from the Maccabees, when Mattathias  
“ slew the Jew who was performing Pa-  
“ gan rites. Their Doctors authorized  
“ such practices, and Philo affirms that  
“ God had established them. The Es-  
“ senes, devout and austere, ordered  
“ that if any one should blaspheme  
“ against Moses, he should be slain. This  
“ sect had not the power of life and  
“ death, and therefore must have pu-  
“ nished such offenders by an act of  
“ zeal. In spite of the horrible disor-  
“ ders and massacres perpetrated by the  
“ Zealots at Jerusalein, the nation still  
“ preserved the dangerous maxim, and  
“ the Misnah teaches that if any one  
“ renounces fundamentals, he must be  
“ slain : by which rule they stoned,  
“ burn’d, and flung into rivers those

“ who apostatized, under the reign of  
 “ Constantine. So that he was obliged  
 “ to repress this violence, and as they  
 “ obeyed not his first law, he was forced  
 “ to publish a second.

“ He also forbad Christians to go over  
 “ to Judaism, under penalties to be in-  
 “ flicted at the pleasure of the Magistrate.  
 “ What was most to be feared was that  
 “ slaves might be seduced by their mas-  
 “ ters; he therefore suffered not the Jews  
 “ to circumcise their servants, and ordered  
 “ all those to be set at liberty who had  
 “ been so used, or who were willing to  
 “ embrace Christianity: Eusebius says  
 “ that it was not permitted to the Jews to  
 “ purchase or <sup>b</sup> to keep Christian slaves,  
 “ and gives this reason for it, that it was  
 “ not fit that they who have been re-  
 “ deemed by the blood of Jesus Christ,  
 “ should be in bondage to the murderers  
 “ of the Prophets and of the Son of God.

<sup>b</sup> Theodosius forbad the Jews to keep Christian slaves, A. D. 384. *Cod. Th. L. iii. Tit. i. p. 246.*

“ Lastly

“ Lastly, Constantine ordered that the  
“ Jews might be made *Decurions*, since it  
“ was reasonable that they should bear part  
“ of the burden of public offices : but he  
“ exempted their Patriarchs, and Priests,  
“ and those who had considerable em-  
“ ployments in the Synagogues, as men  
“ who had not leisure to serve in civil  
“ offices; and indeed it was not an ho-  
“ nour but a burden to serve as a *Decuri-*  
“ *on*, and every one endeavoured to shun  
“ it by taking other employments in the  
“ army and in the state, or by obtaining  
“ an exemption from the Emperor. Con-  
“ stantine and his sons granted them to  
“ so many persons, that in the time of  
“ Julian none were left to serve the pub-  
“ lic in these posts. He was therefore  
“ obliged to recall those privileges, with-  
“ out discrimination, which caused great  
“ clamours against him and his memory,  
“ whilst others commended his con-  
“ duct. Such was the condition of the  
“ Jews under the first Christian Prince.”  
*Basnage Hist. des Juifs vi. 14.*

Under Constantius, the violent dissensions amongst the Christians might have been profitable to the Jews, if they could have been quiet, and had behaved themselves well: for when the Christians had divided and subdivided themselves into sects, they hated, calumniated, and oppressed each other more than they did the Infidels, and in <sup>c</sup> the fourth and fifth

<sup>c</sup> Honorius and Theodosius II. made a law, that the Jews should not be compelled to violate their Sabbaths and their other holy days, upon any pretence, A. D. 409. *Die Sabbati, ac reliquis, sub tempore quo Judæi cultus sui reverentiam servant, neminem aut facere aliquid, aut ulla ex parte conveniri debere præcipimus: cum Fiscalibus commodis, et litigiis privatorum, constat reliquos dies posse sufficere, etc.* Cod. Th. L. ii. Tit. viii. p. 125. Thus were the Jews indulged, whilst no pity and favour was shewed to those Christians who were called heretics.

Arcadius and Honorius, in their law, *De Judæorum foro*, A. D. 398. had ordered that in civil things the Jews should be subject to the civil laws, but in religious things to their own laws and decisions, *Cod. Th. L. ii. Tit. i. p. 87.*

Valentinian I. had also protected the Jews, and did not permit their Synagogues to be profaned. A. D. 368. *Cod. Th. L. vii. Tit. viii. p. 344. et*  
cen-



centuries it was safer to be a Jew or a Pagan, than to be an Heretic, or a Schismatic, or a Christian of this or that denomination; and the obscurer the controverted points were, the greater was the contention, as it usually happens.

But the Jews, who could never be at rest, took arms in Palæstine, in the time of Constantius, and slew the soldiers who were quartered there, and many of the inhabitants, and ravaged the country: upon which Gallus Cæsar, the Emperor's cousin, attacked them, and being of a cruel disposition, he burnt their cities, and slew all that he could find, without sparing even the women and the children.

Julian, in spite to the Christians, used

*Gothofred.* This illustrious Prince had his faults, but he had his virtues likewise. He was a true and a steady friend to toleration, and would not suffer his subjects to be persecuted for their religious opinions: He was also a friend to letters and to learned men. For these two good qualities he deserves to be mentioned with respect, and it is much to be wished that all Princes would imitate his example.

the

### 378 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

the Jews kindly, and promised them great things, and had a mind to settle them again at Jerusalem, to rebuild their temple, and to enable them to observe their ceremonial as well as their moral law, which would have been an insult upon Christ and Christianity. He was resolved, says Marcellinus, to spare no pains or expense, and to restore the temple to its former splendor, and he gave orders to the Governor of the province to set about it; which was instantly done: but when the work was begun, terrible balls of fire broke out from the foundations, and made the place inaccessible, and upon many repeated endeavours slew the workmen, so that the fire never ceasing to rage whilst any attempt was made to go on with the work, the undertaking was laid aside. *Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano posteaque Tito, ægre est expugnatum, instaurare sumtibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britan-*  
*nias*

*nias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum: hocque modo, elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. xxxiii. I.*

The same thing is related by many Christian writers, as by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Philostorgius, Theodoret, etc. some of whom lived at the time. They say nothing that contradicts the Pagan Historian, but they mention an earthquake, and add some circumstances not recorded by him, in which perhaps there may be exaggeration and embellishment. There is not one of these Christian authors who has not impaired his credit by the relation of miracles manifestly false; but still their testimony as to the principal fact is of weight, and is confirmed by Marcellinus, by Jewish writers, and perhaps by some passages in Julian's

Julian's Epistles, and by this circumstance above all, that they appeal to a thing which any one might go and see with his own eyes, to the interrupted work at Jerusalem, and to the foundations of the temple which had been digged up by the Jews, to clear the ground for the intended edifice ; so that, all things considered, the story is as well attested as one can reasonably expect.

But when a man hath no mind to believe a thing, he seldom wants excuses. The Jews who lived at that time, and would not allow this to be a miracle in favour of Christianity, ascribed it perhaps to God's displeasure against Julian, a bigotted Idolater, who deserved not the honour of rebuilding his temple, or to their own transgressions which made them unworthy of being at that time restored ; for men will acknowledge their own faults, when they can reap any advantage from the concession. The Pagans might give the honour of it to their Deities who hated the Jewish  
super-



superstition and impiety; they might say that Providence interposed, just as it did when the <sup>d</sup> Cnidians endeavoured to make an island of their peninsula. And perhaps both Jews and Pagans ascribed it to natural causes; for there have been eruptions of subterraneous fires in various

<sup>d</sup> Nam quum initium ex Bybassia peninsula sumat, et præter exiguum quid Cnidia omnis sit circumflua: (eam enim partem quæ Boream spectat, Ceramicus coercet sinus, Australem vero mare, in quo est Syme ac Rhodus) istud igitur exiguum, circiter quinque stadiorum, Cnidii fodiebant, interea dum Harpagus Ioniam everteret, volentes suam regionem in insulæ formam redigere. Intus vero universa illis erat: nam Cnidia regio qua parte in continentem finitur, illic isthmus est, quem fodiebant. Et sane multa manu operantibus Cnidiis, amplius humano et divinius videbantur vulnerari operarii, quam solet in talibus fieri, cum alias corporis partes, tum præcipue oculos incisâ et vulneratâ petrâ: Delphos miserunt consultores Oraculi, qui sciscitarentur quidnam esset quod tantopere adversaretur. Pythia, ut ipsi referunt Cnidii, senario versu respondit talia;

*Nec aggerate, nec vel Isthmum fodite:*

*Nam si placuisset, Insulam dederat Deus.*

Herodotus;

times and places, and such eruptions have perhaps sometimes accompanied earthquakes, though not so often as some have imagined. Tacitus mentions a remarkable instance of fire issuing from the earth: *Sed civitas Fubonum socia nobis, malo improvise afflictæ est: nam ignes terra editi, villas, arva, vicos passim corripiebant, ferebanturque in ipsa conditæ nuper Coloniae mœnia; neque extinguere poterant, non si imbres caderent, non si fluvialibus aquis, aut quo alio humore niterentur: donec inopia remedii, et iræ cladis, agrestes quidam eminens saxa jaccere, dein residentibus flammis propius suggressi, ictu fustium, aliisque verberibus, ut feras absterrebant: postremo tegmina corpori direpta injiciunt, quanto magis profana et usu polluta, tanto magis oppressura ignes.* Ann. xiii. 57.

This relation given by Tacitus hath been thought extravagant and romantic by a late writer. Let us consider whether it be not supported by an authentic account of a fountain in Poland:

In *Poloniæ minoris Palatinatu Cracoviensi* mons reperitur Admirabilis appellatus etc. — in cujus plagæ meridionalis medio scaturigo quædam aquæ limpidissimæ cum strepitu ac vibratione notabili exsurgit, cujus quidem ebullitio seu turgescencia cum lunæ augmento intenditur, cum decremento remittit. — Nullo intra natales hiemis congelascit frigore, imo, quod mirabile, a face propius admota instar subtilissimi spiritus vini exardescit, ut flamma super aquæ superficiem instar bullarum agitetur et subsultet, ideoque fons hic Ignis fatuus audiat. Atque hic quidem ignis sponte sua nunquam extinguitur, nisi scopis percutiatur; quemadmodum ante annos circiter triginta quinque, cum accolæ accensum restinguere negligerent, per cataraclas subterraneas sensim progrediendo radices arborum et cum his totam vicinam silvam in cineres redegit, per tres fere annos durans, antequam perfecte suffocari posset: a quo tempore publicæ etiam excubiæ constitutæ sunt, quæ frivolas ejusmodi accensiones impediant. Dum autem aliquantulum flagrat hæc aqua, multum sui impetus deponit,

deponit, intra quatuordecim dies vix recuperandi. De cætero quamvis ligna admota brevi comburat hæc flamma, adeo tamen subtilis est, ut aquam non calefaciat sed hausta hæc frigida percipiatur; imo nec ipsa extra suam scaturiginem exardescit, utut in vasis exactissime clausis aservetur. Inflammabilitatem hujus fontis cunctis superioribus seculis ignotam fulmen manifestavit, quod casu eum feriens eundem accendit. Hinc lignatores ex silva vicina accurrentes, virgultis ex cæsis arboribus aquæ summitatem verberando ignem restinxerunt, a quo tempore aliquoties postmodum, experimenti causa, mediante face ardente illa denuo accensa, et virgultorum succussione quoque extincta fuit. Unde factum ut provinciæ illius incolæ cæca credulitate sibi persuaserint, fulmen seu tonitru a prima illa accensione in profundo fontis remansisse, quod dum egredi conetur, aquam adeo exagitet, et flammam hanc ad ejus superficiem erumpere faciat. — See *Act. Erud.* 1684. p. 326.

We have an account of a tract of land about two miles long, near the  
Caspian



Caspian Sea, which is inflammable, and which always burns, without casting out either smoke or flames, or consuming any thing. *Phil. Transact.* for the year 1748. N<sup>o</sup> 487, 488.

In the year 1647. at Santorini, an island in the Archipelago, subject to earthquakes, *silvæ subterraneo igne conflagrantes pastoribus et armentis non leve damnum intulerunt.* *Act. Erud.* 1688. P. 517.

Ammianus Marcellinus, after describing the earthquake by which Nicomedia was overturned, adds, *Supereſſe potuit ædium ſacrarum et privatarum, hominumque pars major, ni palantes abrupte flammæ ardoreſ per quadraginta dieſ et nocteſ quicquid conſumi poterat exuſſiſſent.* xvii. 7. But theſe Nicomedian fireſ were the fireſ of kitchenſ, bathſ, forgeſ, etc. which burnt the timber and other combuſtible materialſ of the fallen houſeſ, as Sozomen expreſſly informſ uſ, iv. 16.

In the fifth Century the city of Antioch waſ deſtroyed by an earthquake

and a fire. *Succussio et terræ motus urbi supervenientes, pæne universam prostraverunt. Posthæc secutus est ignis — quæcumque enim loca a succussione et terræ motu subversa non fuerant, ignis depascens in cinerem ac favillas redegit.* Evagrius iv. 5. This also seems to have been no subterraneous eruption, but like the fire at Nicomedia. Sixty one years after, there was another earthquake at Antioch, described by Evagrius who was then in the city, in which sixty thousand persons perished: but, by the mercy of God, says Evagrius, no fire broke out. *Nulum exortum est incendium, quamvis ingens ignis copia passim in urbe esset, partim ex focis, partim ex publicis et privatis lucernis, ex culinis item et fornacibus ac balneis, aliisque innumeris locis.* vi. 8.

When twelve cities in Asia fell by an earthquake, fire was seen to burst out. *Effulsisse inter ruinam ignes memorant.* Tacitus *Ann.* ii. 47.

Josephus mentions a violent earthquake in Judæa: 'Εν τῷ τῷ καὶ τῇς ἐπ' Ἀκ-

τίῳ μάχης συνεσαμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, — σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰσδαίων, ὥς ἐκ ἄλλοτ' ἐδόκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κτηνῶν πολλὴν φθορὰν ἐποίησεν, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ταῖς πεπληκύαις οἰκείαις περὶ μυρίας. *Interea per tempus pugnae Aetiacae, quae Caesari cum Antonio fuit, --- concussa Judaeae terra, quantum nunquam antea videbatur, magnam pecorum stragem fecit per totam regionem, oppressaque sunt hominum etiam circiter decem millia ruinâ domorum.* Ant. xv. 5.

There had probably been other earthquakes in Palæstine, in diverse times. That in the reign of Uzziah is mentioned as very remarkable by Zachariah and by Amos.

But though it should be supposed and allowed that the eruption was not without natural causes, and that the seeds of it lay in the bowels of the earth, yet as this most uncommon fire broke out at the very instant when the Jews and Pagans were attempting to rebuild the temple, and was renewed, as the Historian

says, upon their renewed attempt to go on, and ceased when they gave over, these circumstances seemed to be plain marks of a providential interposition.

Another, and a most memorable circumstance, which distinguished it from the pretended miracles of those days, is that it was not wrought to serve a party, and either to favour or to confute Athanasians, Arians, Semiarians, Sabellians, Novatians, Manichæans, Monks, Anti-Monks, Relique-mongers, Relique-haters, Fasters, Eaters, Friends or Foes to matrimony, etc. No sect could claim any countenance or honour from it, but it was performed by Providence for the credit of Christianity, and to serve the common cause against Judaism and Paganism.

It hath been said that Christ, who foretold the destruction of the temple, yet hath not affirmed that it should be rebuilt no more, or hath not clearly declared how long it should lie in ruins,  
and



and that if the Jews had rebuilt their temple under Julian, yet they would not have had time to make use of it, because his Christian successor would have pulled it down, or converted it into a Church, and that therefore there was no occasion for a miracle to prevent Julian's design.

But where is the force or the reasonableness of this argument? If it was not fit that the Jews should have a temple, it might surely be as proper that God himself should interpose, as that he should leave it to the Christians; and it was more to the confusion of Judaism, and to the honour of Christianity, which certainly was concerned in the affair.

The Jews, according to the writers of the New Testament, suffered the evils, which they underwent, for their disobedience, and their rebellion against Christ; and as the national disobedience then continued, it was fit that the national punishment should continue also. The ceremonial Law had been abolished by the Gospel, and therefore it was fit

that the Jews should not be put in a capacity to observe it, though they were ever so willing. Thus they were under a curse, as the ancient Christian writers often observe, because they could not perform the legal expiations and attonements. The Jews might have replied that God accepted the will for the deed, that a contrite heart would serve instead of sacrifices, that no man is bound to impossibilities, and that under the Babylonian captivity they ceased not to be God's people, though they had neither temple nor sacrifice. But the long cessation of the ceremonial law for no less than three hundred years brought in a prescription against it, and shewed that it was antiquated, and that the New and second Covenant had taken place of the first. The longer the Jewish dispersion and the desolation of Jerusalem continued, the more force the Christian argument gathered. In the time of Julian it pressed hard upon them, but much harder when that nation had lost all distinction of tribes, and could find no

Priests

Priests and Levites to officiate, though their Temple had been rebuilt. The argument now stands thus: Your forefathers, when by idolatry, forcery, shedding of innocent blood, and all sorts of defilements, they had provoked God beyond measure, were carried captives to Babylon; but after seventy years they returned and rebuilt their temple. Since that time you have been no more guilty of idolatry, and yet you are rejected of God these seventeen hundred years. What crime have you committed against him worse than idolatry, or high treason, for which you are thus severely punished beyond all former example of God's dealing with you? It must be for the rejection of the Messias. Orobius the Jew, in his dispute with Limborch, was greatly distressed by this argument, and knew not how to answer it.

The subject which I am now treating hath been very well discussed by Mr. Warburton, to whose book I refer the reader for farther satisfaction, and to his

arguments and observations I shall only here add a few remarks, to confirm those of my Friend.

First : the fire which came out from the foundations of the temple, and destroyed the workmen, and dispersed the Jews, was, to the Jews, a particular mark of God's displeasure and interposition, because it was the way in which God had been constantly used to manifest himself. God, considered as the punisher of sinners, is said to be a consuming fire ; when he appeared, his glory was as a devouring fire ; when he is represented in the Psalms as taking vengeance, fire is said to have proceeded from him, and smoke, and burning coals, and lightnings ; fire is an emblem of his wrath and vindictive justice ; by fire he often punished the ungodly, as the inhabitants of Sodom, and the rebellious Jews ; by fire the world is to be consumed, and the future punishment of evil Angels and evil men is represented under the words, *Everlasting fire*. Hence in the holy Scriptures fire heaped upon



upon the head denotes vengeance descending from above, that is, divine vengeance; and as the natural effect of heaping fire upon a man's head is destruction, in the figurative sense it must mean punishment. So in the Psalms, *Let burning coals fall upon them*; so in Esdras, *Let not the sinner say he hath not sinned, for God shall heap coals of fire upon his head who saith before the Lord God and his glory, he hath not sinned*; so Solomon in the Proverbs, *If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, if he be thirsty, give him waterto drink, for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and the Lord shall reward thee*; which words of Solomon St. Paul hath made use of in his <sup>e</sup> Epistle to the Romans.

When God expelled Adam from Paradise, he placed a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep him out.

<sup>e</sup> Where see Grotius and Whitby. See also Jeremiah v. 14. and Revel. xi. 5. and Le Clerc *Bibl. Anc. et Mod.* i. p. 373.

When he made a covenant with Abraham, a smoking furnace and a burning lamp passed between the divided sacrifice.

When he appeared to Moses, it was in a flame of fire out of the midst of the bush.

He guided the Israelites by a pillar of fire.

When he descended upon mount Sinai, it was in a fire, a devouring fire and an earthquake; and the face of Moses shone after he had seen the glory of God.

When the Tabernacle was erected, the glory of the Lord filled it, and appeared as a fire by night.

When Aaron and his sons were consecrated, there came a fire from before the Lord, and consumed the burnt offering; and when Nadab and Abihu made an offering in an illegal manner, there went out a fire from the Lord, and slew them.

When the people murmured at Taberah, the fire of the Lord burnt among them and consumed them.

When

When two hundred and fifty men, joining themselves to Corah, offered incense, there came out a fire from the Lord and consumed them.

The Angel of God consumed Gideon's sacrifice with fire.

The Philistines in the days of Samuel were discomfited by thunder and lightning; and by thunder and lightning God shewed his approbation of Samuel, and his displeasure against the Israelites.

When Solomon dedicated the temple, the fire fell from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering, and the glory of the Lord filled the house.

Elijah brought down fire from heaven to consume his sacrifice, and twice afterwards, to destroy two captains with their companies, who were sent to apprehend him. A fire went before God when he manifested himself to this great prophet, who was afterwards taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire.

It

It was reported amongst the Jews that Herod, a little before the birth of Christ, broke open the sepulchre of David, to plunder it, and that two of his guards were struck dead with a fire which burst out upon them. So says Josephus, who gives it as a common <sup>f</sup> rumour, *ὡς ἐλέγετο*. Ant. xvi. 7.

When James and John wanted leave to punish the Samaritans for their rudeness, they asked Christ to permit them to call down fire from heaven : and when the Holy Ghost descended at Pentecost, it was in the appearance of fire.

<sup>f</sup> It might be as true as the story related by Evagrius. “ Barfanuph, the Monk, in the time of Justinian wrought innumerable miracles, and is firmly believed to be still living, shut up in his cell, although more than fifty years are passed since any man hath seen him, or he hath received any nourishment. Eustochius Bishop of Jerusalem, would not believe this, and ordered the cell to be opened in which the man of God had shut himself up, whereupon a fire burst out, and slew almost all those who were present.” H. E. iv. 33.

Thus



Thus God used to shew his presence by fire, either to declare his favour or his anger. When he was propitious, he consumed the sacrifice, and when he was offended he consumed the sinner: and therefore the fiery eruption at Jerusalem upon the attempt to rebuild the temple, seemed to be a signal mark of divine displeasure. Unbelievers will reject all these examples, as fabulous, and their system, though unreasonable, is so far consistent with itself: but why should a man, who believes the Scriptures, think it inconceivable that there should have been a providential interposition in this affair?

I observe secondly, that if Julian had succeeded in his attempt to rebuild the temple, and had lived some years longer, the Jews would have been enabled to restore the Temple-Service and the Ceremonial Law. Three hundred years which were elapsed from the destruction of Jerusalem, had not perhaps so far confounded all distinction of families

lies as to deprive them of a Priesthood : but now, if they had Judæa in their possession, and a temple there, they could not reestablish the Ceremonial Law, having lost long ago all genealogies and all distinction of tribes. Some of the best Jewish Doctors own as much, when they say that part of the office of the Messias shall be to sort their families, restore their genealogies, and set aside strangers; and that he shall purge and purify the sons of Levi, saying, This is a Priest, and this is a Levite. See Chandler's *Def. of Christ.* p. 47. *Il est étonnant qu'on ose soutenir qu'on a conservé la distinction des Tribus, et des familles. Maimonides a eu la bonne foi d'avouer qu'elles étoient tellement confonduës depuis le tems de Sennacherib, qu'on ne pouvoit plus les démêler.* Hinc familiæ inter nos confusæ sunt, ita ut dignosci nequeant inter se, nec e locis ipsarum cognosci. *Basnage Hist. des Juifs.* T. iv. p. 1032.

The Jews, since the destruction of Jerusalem, have lived under Pagan, Christian,

tian, and Mahometan Princes, and from time to time have been oppressed by them all, even when they did nothing to deserve it, but behaved themselves in the most obliging, quiet, and submissive manner.

As they were almost every where upon a kind of connivance, and upon the foot of strangers and sojourners, and excluded from places of power, honour, and profit, and from many ways of getting their bread, they applied themselves to commerce, and to lend money upon interest, and several of them in former days grew both rich and infamous by extortions. I say not this to reproach them in particular; for Christians have done and do the same. But what they thus got, perhaps by disingenuous dealing and dishonest tricks, the Princes often took away from them with the utmost iniquity and insolence; and so they were drudges and tools to arbitrary power, and sponges to be squeezed by merciless and avaritious tyrants. Thus, here in England, King  
John

John cast them into prison, not for any crime that he had to lay to their charge, but to make them deliver up their effects to him : there they were put to the torture, had their teeth pulled out, and were mangled and maimed, to redeem themselves <sup>s</sup> from destruction.

A thousand <sup>h</sup> calumnies have been spread concerning them, as that they were Magicians, that they profaned the Host, and that they crucified Christian children, and as many lying miracles were reported, to confirm those accusations, and then popular emotions and massacres always ensued.

For one story of this kind that was true, a multitude of false ones were related. Socrates tells us that in the fifth

<sup>s</sup> ——— *Libertas pauperis hæc est ;  
Pulsatus rogat, et pugnis concisus adorat,  
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.*

<sup>h</sup> See Manasseh Ben Israel's *Vindiciæ Judæorum*, in the *Phœnix*, Vol. ii. p. 391.

century,



century, in the time of Honorius, some Jews in the neighbourhood of Antioch, who were drunk, took a Christian boy, tied him to a cross, derided and reviled him, and growing frantic gave him so many blows that he died. Upon which the Governor of the Province punished them severely. vii. 16.

Some time after this a Jew went to several Bishops, pretending to embrace Christianity, and was baptized many times, and got money from the Christians. At last, he went with the same story to Paul the Bishop of the Novatians, and desired baptism. The Bishop told him that he must first prepare himself, and learn his Christian rudiments, and read, and pray, and fast, for several days, which went much against the man's stomach. So he begged the time might be shortned, pretending zeal and impatience. But when he came to the baptismal font, behold a miracle! the water suddenly vanished away. Upon a second trial, the same thing happened, though

the pipes of the font were carefully stopped. Thus the Bishop found him out to be an impostor, and one of the congregation remembered that he had seen him baptized by Atticus. If there be any truth in the story, it is probable that the Bishop, who was no fool, and saw that the Jew was a knave, over-reached him, and secretly unstopped a hole to let the water out. See Socrates, vii. 17.

Ambrose, who was made Bishop of Milan A. D. 374, very injudiciously defends the burning of a Jewish Synagogue by a Christian Bishop, and the unlawfulness of rebuilding it; and in his<sup>i</sup> letter to Theodosius on this subject, *he heaps together thoughts and expressions, which are rather declamations than arguments*, as Du Pin observes very fairly, and hints his dislike of such doctrines, though he dared not to speak out, and *provoke the Hornets*. Vol. ii. p. 285.

*Theodosio nuncius affertur de incenso Valentinianorum templo, nec non de subruta*

<sup>i</sup> Epist. xl.

ab Episcopo Judæorum Synagoga. Rem Ambrosius sic exequitur in sua ad Theodosium epistola: Monachi, prohibentibus iter Valentinianis, quo Psalmos canentes ex consuetudine, usuque veteri, pergebant ad Maccabæorum martyrium, moti insolentiâ incenderunt fanum eorum. (*De Synagoga vero*) relatum est a Comite Orientis militarium partium, incensam esse Synagogam, idque autore factum Episcopo; jussisti vindicari in cæteros, Synagogam ab ipso ædificari Episcopo. *Ignis fano Valentinianorum a Monachis subjicitur. Factum et Episcopi et Monachorum improbaverat Theodosius, neque immerito, ut nostra fert sententia. Itaque tumultus autores pænis subjecerat: hoc moleste tulit Ambrosius, qui aculeatâ Theodosium epistolâ pungit: Quid mandas in absentes judicium? Habes præsentem, habes confitentem reum. Proclamo quod ego Synagogam incenderim, certe quod illis mandaverim, ne esset locus, in quo Christus negaretur. Missa est hæc ad Principem epistola: quâ lectâ, cum nondum flecteretur, reversus Mediolanum Ambrosius, in*

*concione adversus Theodosium invocatur, inducto Christo, sic renitentem alloquente: Ego te triumphare sine labore feci, et tu de me inimicis donas triumphos. Imperavit tandem, ut quæ mandaverat Imperator revocarentur.*

*Zelum quidem Ambrosio non invidemus, prudentiam tamen in eo factò desideramus, cum et Monachorum et Episcopi facinus iniquitate conditum fuerit. Quid publicam evertere tranquillitatem, quid de Magistratus autoritate delibare, quid pugnas movere, quid tumultus excitare, si hoc non fuit? Lex est Honorii sapientissima: Christianis demandamus, ut Judæis ac Paganis quiete degentibus, nihilque tentantibus turbulentum, non audeant manus inferre, religionis autoritate abusi. Nam si contra securos fuerint violenti, vel eorum bona diripuerint, non ea sola quæ abstulerint, sed convicti, in duplum quæ rapuerint restituere compellentur. Equidem si Valentinianorum sana, si Judæorum Synagogæ evertendæ erant, Principis Edictum requirebatur. Neque privatis licet ædificia;*



*cia, sive Ethnicorum sive Judæorum publica subruere, quorum usus legibus et auctoritate Imperatorum conceditur. Quod si Monachis Episcopisve id licitum est, liceat quoque Heterodoxorum bona diripere, et privatas domos incendere, in quibus et pietatem negant, et Christo conviciantur. Pace Ambrosii, factum, quod laudat, et vis fuit, et furtum, quo legitimis dominis bona sua eripiebantur, cum perturbatione ordinis omnis, cujus Deus autor est et constitutor. Quam Monachis et Episcopo impunitatem Ambrosius comparavit, ea maxima fuit illecebra furoris, ut Antistites Ascetæque omnes licenter flammis cingerent Ecclesias Hæreticorum, Tempia Ethnicorum, Synagogas Judæorum. Puto dicturum Episcopum (verba sunt Ambrosii) quod ipse ignes sparserit, turbas compulerit, populos concluderit, ne amittat occasionem martyrii. O beatum mendacium! Beata hæc mendacia nescit pietas. —*

*Hic quidem Baronius lupum auribus tenet, qui laudibus Ambrosii zelum afficit, quem sane improbat Gregorius Magnus,*

*dum contraria Ambrosio statuit.* etc. S.  
Basnage *Ann.* iii. 114.

“ St. Ambrose expressed the most vio-  
“ lent indignation against the Emperor  
“ upon this occasion. He sent him a  
“ letter which is still extant, and held in  
“ veneration, as a glorious memorial of  
“ his fervent zeal. There are bold men  
“ who think that they may say and do  
“ any thing under the mask of Godliness.  
“ The Saint tells the Prince that he  
“ could pray to God no longer for him,  
“ if he would not grant him his request.  
“ After such an haughty prelude, he asks  
“ him with what face he could order  
“ a Bishop to rebuild the Synagogue  
“ which he had burned, since the Bishop  
“ must either be a prevaricator if he  
“ obeyed, or a Martyr if he disobeyed  
“ him. He takes the fault upon himself,  
“ and says that he had ordered the deed ;  
“ not that this was true, but by way of  
“ bravado, and to challenge the Emperor  
“ to punish him if he dared. He tells  
“ him that he would have done the same  
“ at

“ at Milan, if God had not prevented  
“ him by burning the Jewish Synagogue  
“ himself. He then represents the  
“ Church of God in tears, the Godly  
“ bound in chains and fetters, the Ser-  
“ vants of the Lord condemned to the  
“ mines, and the triumphant exultation  
“ of the impious Jews, as the sure con-  
“ sequences of the Emperor’s orders.  
“ This sophistry and these rodoman-  
“ tades are so many tokens of gratitude  
“ which St. Ambrose was pleased to give  
“ to his Royal Master for having been  
“ his friend, his patron and protector;  
“ and with this pride and insolence he  
“ repays his favours. Theodosius how-  
“ ever complied, as they say, and excused  
“ the Incendiaries from making resti-  
“ tution.” *Basnage Hist. des Juifs* L. vi.  
14. p. 1266. See also some good remarks  
of Bayle, and of Barbeyrac *Morale des*  
*Peres*, p. 325. et p. 330. where he takes  
notice of Symeon Stylites.

Yet this behaviour is what Tillemont,  
Ceillier, and many others of the Church

of Rome extoll and admire; which makes us also admire no less the wisdom and the judgment of some of our Brethren, who send us to learn Ecclesiastical History from such writers, without giving us a caution not to trust them too far. They might as well send us to learn morality from Escobar, divinity from Bellarmin, and English history from Father Sanders, or any Father of that communion.

A. D. 406. A certain Jew had been confined many years to his bed with a palsey at Constantinople. Having tried in vain the aid of all the Physicians, and received no benefit from the prayers of the Jews, he resolved to have recourse to the Christians, and to receive baptism. When this was told to Atticus the Bishop, he instructed him in the faith, and then ordered him to be brought in his bed to the Baptismal Font. The Jew there professing his faith in Christ, was baptized, and as soon as he was taken out of the water, he found himself cured, and his disease returned no more.

Thus



“ Thus did our Saviour think fit to shew  
“ forth his power, even in our days, by a  
“ miracle which converted many of the  
“ Pagans. But the Jews, though they  
“ require signs and wonders, yet have not  
“ been moved by these miracles to embrace  
“ the Gospel.” *Socrates* vii. 4.

This is one of the most plausible miracles that are related of those days. There is nothing in it absurd and unreasonable, either in the fact, or the circumstances, or the tendency. Add to this, that Atticus, by whose ministry it is said to have been wrought, was a good Prelate, an enemy to violence and persecution, and remarkable for charity and moderation, as Sozomen informs us. But when we consider the genius of the fifth century, and of the Historians and Writers of those times, it is impossible not to hesitate.

It deserves also some consideration, whether the bathing and the force of imagination joined together, might not  
by

by a natural operation remove a paralytic disorder.

*Symeon Stylites* began to perch upon his pillar, A. D. 423. In his days the Christians of Antioch, by an insolent act of violence, took away from the Jews their Synagogues. The Emperor Theodosius Junior, when he first heard of it, following the dictates of equity, commanded the Christians to restore to the Jews what was their property. Upon this the *zealous* Symeon, after the example of Ambrose, wrote a reprimanding letter to the Emperor, and obliged him to change his sentiments, and to patronize these illegal and unchristian proceedings. *Tam acriter eum objurgavit, ut Imperator, revocata jussione sua, cuncta in gratiam Christianorum fecerit, et Præfecto Prætorii, qui hæc ipsi suggesserat, potestatem abrogaverit.* Evagrius i. 13.

This gives an ugly blow on the head to Symeon's miracles; since it is hard to suppose that the Divine Providence should commit preternatural powers to  
the

the hands of a Monk, who was not only an Enthusiast, but a patron of persecutors, rioters, robbers, house-breakers, and seditious subjects.

Symeon's pillar was enclosed, afterwards, in a Portico, and an annual miracle was wrought there, of which Evagrius himself was an eye-witness. *Ad lævum igitur columnæ latus, ipse cum reliqua populi multitudine ibi collecta, saltantibus circa columnam rusticis, vidi in fenestra stellam immensæ magnitudinis, per totam fenestram discurrentem atque radiantem: neque id semel, aut iterum ac tertio, sed sæpius: eandemque crebro evanescentem, atque iterum subito apparentem. Quod quidem non nisi diebus festis, quibus sancti viri memoria quotannis recolitur, fieri solet. Sunt etiam qui dicant (nec fides deroganda est miraculo, tum ob auctoritatem eorum qui id affirmant, tum propter alia quæ nos vidimus) se ipsam illius personam vidisse, huc atque illuc volitantem, promissa barba, et capite tiara obvoluto, sicuti consueverat. i. 14.*

This fire was an *Ignis Fatuus*, contrived by the Monks, to deceive the devout assembly, and such dupes as Evagrius. What tricks would not these Monks have played, if they had possessed the secret of *Electricity*?

A Jewish boy having eaten some of the consecrated bread with his Christian school-fellows, A. D. 536. his father, who was a glass-maker, discovered it, and flung the poor child into his fiery furnace, and locked him in. After three days, the disconsolate mother found him there safe and sound. A fine Lady, as the boy declared, clothed in a purple robe, had been with him in the furnace, and had cooled the flames and given him meat and drink. This Lady was the Virgin Mary, who about the year 408. began to manifest her self and to work continual miracles. Tidings of these wonders came to the ears of Justinian, who ordered the mother and the boy to be baptized and admitted amongst the Ecclesiastics: but the father, obstinately  
refu-



refusing to receive Christianity, was, by command of the Emperor, crucified in the suburbs of Constantinople, as the murderer of his own child. For this story we are indebted to *Evagrius* iv. 36.

The miracle of the Confessors, who in those days spake plainly, after their tongues were cut out by the persecuting Arians, is also attested by *Evagrius* iv. 14. Other miracles of this kind are related in later History, and are equally improbable.

In the *Chronicon Saxonicum*, which is a collection of things, some useful, and some of small moment, we are told that Pope Leo the third was deposed by the Romans, who cut out his tongue and pulled out his eyes A. D. 797. and that he saw and talked after this as well as he did before. Compare this with *Fleury* H. E. x. p. 22.

Agobard, Archbishop of Lions, A. D. 829. had drawn upon himself the hatred of the Jews, who were numerous

in that city, by baptizing their slaves. The Jews, says he, buy Pagan slaves; those slaves learn our language, and often take a liking to our religion, and address themselves to us and beg to be baptized. Can we refuse them? or did the Apostles use to reject such converts? We desire not to rob the masters; we are willing to redeem their slaves, and to return them the full price which they paid for them, etc.

The Emperor Louis was persuaded to take part with the Jews in this affair, upon which Agobard wrote him a letter of remonstrances, which, upon the whole, seem not to be unreasonable. In this letter he charges the Jews with the crime of stealing Christian children, and selling them for slaves. *Fleury H. E. x. 319. etc.*

It is observable that the <sup>1</sup> Popes in all

<sup>1</sup> As Gregory, at the end of the sixth century; Alexander II. A. D. 1068. Innocent III. A. D. 1198. Gregory IX. A. D. 1236. John XXII. A. D. 1320. etc.

times have shewed far more kindness and clemency to the Jews than the Christian Princes. One reason was, that the court of Rome hath usually excelled all other courts in policy, craft, and worldly wisdom. It saw the folly of driving away and distressing the Jews, and it knew the use that was to be made of an industrious people, skilful in commerce, and in the management of revenues; who had no particular dislike to Papal authority, no disposition to assist Heretics, Schismatics, enemies of Popery, Reformers, and Separatists, and no credit to make proselytes to their own religion.

“ The Council of Basil, held A. D.  
“ 1434. extending its pastoral care and  
“ its jurisdiction very widely, thought it  
“ proper not to overlook the Jews, who  
“ were numerous in that city, and in  
“ Germany. It ordered the Prelates, in  
“ all places where there were Jews, to  
“ appoint learned Divines to preach to  
“ them. The sovereign Princes were  
“ obliged to send all the Jews in their  
“ domi-

“ dominions to attend at the sermon,  
“ and heavy penalties were to be inflicted  
“ on any person who should hide or  
“ detain them. At the same time it was  
“ forbidden to eat with them or to keep  
“ them company. It was not lawful to  
“ have footmen, nurses, physicians, or  
“ farmers of that nation, or to let them  
“ houses near any church, or in the  
“ middle of any city : and that they  
“ might be the more easily known, they  
“ were obliged to wear a particular habit.  
“ Lastly the Council passed a condemna-  
“ tion, and inflicted penalties on those  
“ who should pawn to them the sacred  
“ books, crosses, chalices, and the orna-  
“ ments of Churches.

“ The Council made regulations also  
“ relating to the Jews who should receive  
“ Christianity. These converts acquired  
“ by baptism a right to enjoy their own  
“ possessions and goods, those excepted  
“ which they had gained by usury ;  
“ for they were obliged to restore these  
“ extortions, if the persons wronged were  
“ living



“ living ; and in case of death, as the  
“ Church was the mistress of these  
“ unlawful and confiscated gains, she  
“ made a present of them to the new  
“ converts. This regulation was of a  
“ singular kind ; for the Church hath  
“ no right to appropriate to her self the  
“ goods of particular persons, especially  
“ if they had acquired them before they  
“ entered into the Church, and in the  
“ days of their ignorance ; nor can she  
“ exercise it to the prejudice of the chil-  
“ dren and the heirs of those to whom  
“ restitution was due. This also was an  
“ obstacle to the conversion of the Jews,  
“ by stripping them of their acquisitions.

“ The Council also, by a law of its  
“ own, declared the converted Jews ca-  
“ pable of all civil offices in the city  
“ where they were baptized, because,  
“ forsooth, *it is more noble to be born*  
“ *anew of the Holy Ghost, than to be born*  
“ *of the flesh.* Councils have no business  
“ to dispose of the charges and privileges  
“ of Corporations ; and the reason here  
Vol. III. D d “assigned

“ assigned is drole, namely, that regene-  
 “ ration gives men a right to temporal  
 “ dignities.

“ The Council, after all, could not  
 “ be certain of the sincerity of these pro-  
 “ felytes, and seems to have doubted of  
 “ it; for it permitted not the new con-  
 “ verts to receive and return mutual visits,  
 “ or to dwell together, knowing by  
 “ experience that they only helped to  
 “ spoil one another, and that their faith  
 “ was rather weakned than improved by  
 “ such intercourse. It also forbad them  
 “ to bury their dead according to the  
 “ Jewish ritual, to observe the Sabbath,  
 “ and other national ceremonies; a suffi-  
 “ cient proof that these new Christians  
 “ were not sincere.— It ordered the Cu-  
 “ rates to seek out Christian wives for  
 “ these Jews, and to get them advan-  
 “ tageous matches: and as it granted  
 “ great privileges to the profelytes, it  
 “ denounced terrible punishments against  
 “ dissemblers, ordering the Priests to  
 “ watch them narrowly, to deliver them  
 “ to

“ to the Inquisitors, and to make use of  
“ the secular arm, that they might be  
“ punished with the utmost rigour, de-  
“ claring that they who should protect  
“ these pretended converts should be treat-  
“ ed as friends to heretics; and carrying  
“ its authority still farther, it annulled and  
“ annihilated all privileges formerly grant-  
“ ed to the Jews, either by Popes, or by  
“ Emperors. One is amazed to hear  
“ Ecclesiastics talk at this rate, --- con-  
“ founding things temporal with spiritual,  
“ Political with Ecclesiastical, and draw-  
“ ing false consequences from the one to  
“ the other. With reason the Council  
“ ordered that there should be care taken  
“ to instruct the Jews, and that they  
“ should be relieved by the alms of  
“ Christians; but by mere usurpation it  
“ claimed a power over Emperors and  
“ Imperial Laws.” *Basnage Hist. des*  
*Juifs*, T. v. p. 2051.

In the year 1650. the Jews, as it  
is said, held an assembly in the plain  
of *Ageda* in Hungary, to examine the

Scriptures concerning Christ. Many of them seemed disposed to own him for the promised Messias; but upon hearing the doctrines of Christianity, as they were represented by some Priests of the Church of Rome who were present at the assembly, they were shocked at such idolatrous tenets, and cried out *Blasphemy*, and chose rather to reject the Gospel than to admit such a sort of Christianity.

The Narrative of these remarkable proceedings was drawn up by *Samuel Bret*, who was present at that Synod, and is published in *the Phoenix*, Vol. i. The question is, whether this *Narrative* have any more truth in it than *the Adventures of Telemachus*. The Authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* declared their just suspicions concerning it. --- *Ceterum sunt in ea Relatione nonnulla, quæ si plane dubiam fidem ejus non reddant, rerum saltem Judaicarum ignorantia auctorem arguant. Doctissimo certe Basnagio in erudito de Historia Judæorum opere plane illud Concilium*

I
cilium



*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.* 421  
*cilium prætermisſum obſervamus.* 1709. p.  
104.

*Many things have been reported of us, that never entered into the thoughts of our nation; as I have ſeen a fabulous narrative of the Proceedings of a great Council of the Jews, aſſembled in the plain of Ageda in Hungary, to determine whether the Meſſiah were come or no. Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael, in his Deſenſe of the Jews, in the Phœnix, Vol. ii. p. 401.*

The account of the Jews who have been plundered, ſent naked into baniſhment, ſtarved, tortured, left to periſh in priſons, hanged and burnt by Chriſtians, would fill many volumes. But now they enjoy better times, they eſcape perſecution even in ſome Popiſh countries, and thoſe of them who dwell in Proteſtant nations have been well uſed, and no where more kindly than here; ſo that they have great reaſon to remember the command which God gave them by Jeremiah, when they were in Babylon, and to apply it to their preſent ſituation; *Seek the peace of the*

422 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

*city whither I have caused you to be carried, and pray unto the Lord for it ; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.* Why should we not, in charity, suppose them to be thus inclined ? for they are *men*; and men will commonly love those who treat them gently, and will certainly entertain a bad opinion of their persecutors. In this let us judge of others, by what we feel our selves ; since there are two things which every honest person equally dislikes, *To oppress*, and, *To be oppressed*.

If we had a circumstantial and an impartial account of all the insurrections and rebellions of the Jews, and of the causes which produced them, we should perhaps find this people to have been often provoked and exasperated by ill usage, and therefore rather less turbulent and seditious than they have been commonly represented. We should not forget that it is oppression which, usually speaking, begets rebellion, *oppression*, which, as the *Wise man* observes, *will make a wise man mad*.

St. Paul, in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, observes that God had rejected the Jews, and chosen the Gentiles to be his people, but, says he, this rejection of the Jews, as it is not universal, so neither is it final and irreversible; some of them are now called to the faith, but to the greater part blindness is happened, and this blindness must continue, till the fulness, the more complete conversion of the Gentiles be come, and then the people of Israel shall also be saved, that is, shall be converted to the Gospel, and so be put in a state of salvation. St. Paul argues thus; If God hath called the Gentiles to his grace after a long idolatry and infidelity, though they were never before admitted to those privileges which the Jews enjoyed, and though God had never promised to be their God for ever, much more will he recall his chosen people from their infidelity. Here we have his own authority for it, which he also strengthens by appealing to the Scriptures: *It is written,* says he, *The Deliverer shall turn away un-*

*godliness from Jacob, and God shall make a covenant with his people, and take away their sins.* The Jews were called God's own people, and his first-born; to them Christ was sent, to them the Apostles first preached the Gospel, and the first Christian Church was that of Jerusalem, which in the primitive times was as the mother-Church, and had some degree of dignity and preeminence over all Churches. The Prophets speak of a future calling of the Jews, and of a state of stability, piety, power, happiness, glory, peace, and prosperity which they should enjoy. The expressions which are used upon this occasion are extremely strong and magnificent, and have not as yet been literally accomplished. St. John also in the Revelation, when he describes the New Jerusalem and the glorious state of the Church, adopts the same ideas, and uses the same expressions; and therefore may be supposed to have had the same event in view: and the ancient Christians, either by tradition, or by examining the Scriptures, were generally



rally agreed in holding that the Jews should in those last days become God's people again ; and in the expectation of happier times the Jews also agreed with them.

The question here is, whether St. Paul's declaration was fulfilled in the conversion of several Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem, and during the four first centuries, or whether he had a view to a still future and a much more extensive conversion. Upon this question Commentators are divided ; but the preservation of this people under so long, so signal, and so unexampled persecutions and calamities, would incline one to think that they are reserved for some illustrious purpose of Providence, and the expressions of St. Paul most naturally promise a conversion which is yet to come. Whitby has treated of the Calling of the Jews, in his commentary on the xi<sup>th</sup> Chap. of the Epistle to the Romans, and in an Appendix, where the Reader will find the substance of all that can be said on this side of the question. I know  
of

of no satisfactory answer that ever was made to it.

The utmost that can be collected from the passages of Scripture concerning this great event, is that the Gospel shall, before the consummation of all things, flourish more, and extend it self farther than at present; that Christianity shall be reformed, and reduced to its primitive and genuine purity and simplicity, and have an happier effect upon the manners of its professors; and that many, at least, of the Jews and Gentiles, shall flow into the Church.

But to descend to particulars is to indulge the most uncertain conjectures. Predictions in general, before their accomplishment, are never perfectly understood, and the metaphorical and figurative style of prophecy adds to the difficulty, and hath often misled the unwary Interpreter. The expounding such sort of expressions on this occasion too literally, has produced strange and precarious notions amongst ancient and modern Christi-

Christians concerning the *Millennium*: thus it has been supposed that Christ shall come and reign personally upon earth a thousand years, that the old Christian Martyrs shall rise again to reign with him, that the Jews shall have a temple rebuilt, and a temple-service renewed, and that the righteous shall in those days enjoy the utmost temporal felicity; all which seems to agree neither with the abolishment of the ceremonial Law, nor with the pure and spiritual nature of the Gospel, nor with the promises of a true happiness which is to be expected not here below, but in the kingdom of heaven.

The conversion and the restoration of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles, if ever it be accomplished, must in all probability be performed by the visible manifestation of God's power and spirit, and not by ordinary and human means. This will appear, if we consider the present situation of the Jews, and of the unbelieving nations, and the impediments

428 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

to their conversion, both from their own state, and from the state of Christianity.

When the Gospel was first preached, its progress was swift and extensive. If you ask why it was so, and how it came to pass, the reason is, that it was accompanied with a plentiful effusion of divine and preternatural gifts, with prophetic and miraculous powers; else it could never have prevailed, and even the prejudices of education would have kept it out from all lands.

Christianity at present is destitute of these aids, and is to be proved by no other ways than by inferences and deductions, and moral and historical proofs, which not only require learning and the exercise of reason in the teacher, but also a tolerable capacity in the persons to be taught. Now those men in general who make up the bulk of society, are incompetent judges of complicated moral evidence, and of probabilities; which makes it extremely difficult to introduce Christianity any where by mere argu-



argumentative methods, and by convincing the understanding.

The Mohammedans and Pagans are for the most part poor reasoners, and take up implicitly the religious opinions which they find established. Good sense and intellectual abilities are indeed natives of all climes, but they are not equally cultivated every where, and no where less than in those countries of which we are speaking, where the vulgar are often only a better sort of brutes, and a little above the monkeys. Man is in a great measure what education and instruction make him. Despotic government, which is an enemy to the free exercise of the understanding, and the danger of examining points of faith increases the stupidity and ignorance in such places. Where the will of one insolent man is the only law, there is usually neither learning, nor courage, nor virtue, nor religion. The manners also and the customs of those nations are in some things directly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel.

pel. The Gospel restrains polygamy and divorce, enjoins chastity and humanity, orders servants or slaves to be kindly used, and the female sex to frequent the public worship of God, and therefore must be odious to those nations where different practises prevail. Hence it may be observed, that when Christianity not long after the death of the Apostles made its way in some parts of the eastern world, it probably had the assistance of miracles, not only because of the hardships and persecutions which its professors then underwent, but because it contradicted the manners and customs of those who embraced it, and opposed it self to those indulgences and practices which men are never willing to give up, and which are to them a kind of second nature. This, joined to some testimonies in Ecclesiastical History, is no bad argument to shew that miracles might continue somewhat longer than the Apostolical age, and be performed upon some important occasions, particularly in preaching and establishing the Gospel amongst Infidels.

There

There is little reason to hope that Pagan and Mohammedan nations should be converted at present by the Christians. They are not at all disposed to receive the Gospel, and to judge of the force of moral arguments and of strong probabilities. It would be a hard matter to convince them of the antiquity and the authority of our sacred Books, not because our proofs are weak and defective, but because they are not acquainted with our Chronology and History. Yet these impediments and difficulties are not such as should discourage the attempts made by our Teachers and Missionaries amongst the Pagans in those countries where we have commerce and settlements. Such attempts are highly useful and commendable, and deserve public encouragement, and surely it is the duty of Christians, when they have means and opportunities, to relieve the spiritual no less than the corporeal wants of their fellow-creatures.

The Jews are dispersed over the earth, and dwell in Mohammedan, in Pagan,  
and

and in Christian countries: so that, though by descent they are Jews, by birth they are Persians, Turks, Italians, etc. and partake in some measure of the genius and temper of the nations in which they are born and educated. By dwelling amongst Pagans and Mohammedans, and under tyrannical government, they learn to reason as little as their masters and their neighbours, and to go on implicitly in the faith of their forefathers. Their neighbours never dispute much about religion; and it is controversy and free debate that opens and enlarges the mind and improves the understanding; without this there is a dull stagnation of the intellectual faculties.

Besides this, the Jews were never remarkable for accurate and methodical reasoning, and their traditionary doctrines and mystical interpretations help to spoil their judgment.

“ R. Falk began A. D. 1530 to exercise his scholars in dispute, after the manner of the Christians: but this  
“ me-



“ method did not please the Wise, and  
“ was not generally approved. The Jews,  
“ who have a theology altogether mysti-  
“ cal, and depending more upon the  
“ imagination than upon reasoning, have  
“ no taste for arguments and syllogisms.”

*Basnage Hist. des Juifs, L. vii. c. 30.*  
p. 2072.

The Jews, in countries where Christianity is not established, lie out of the way of receiving instruction, if they were willing to hearken to it. Who should teach them? The Christians who dwell in those parts are poor, ignorant, superstitious, slavish men, and sometimes dishonest men also, and not qualified for preachers of the Gospel: So that the conversion of the Jews cannot in all appearance begin in those regions.

The Jews dispersed in Christian countries dwell either in Popish or in Protestant nations. There is not the least probability that the Papists should ever convert them. The violence which a man must offer to his own senses and reason, and

the slavish deference that he must pay to human authority, before he can enter into that communion ; the divine honours given to the Virgin Mary ; the worship of Angels, Saints, Crosses, Wafers, Coffins, Bones, Rags, old Iron, Reliques, Pictures and Images, supported by ridiculous miracles and traditionary lies ; the tyranny of the Church, and the cruelty of the Inquisition ; these are insuperable obstructions to the conversion of the Jews, and excite in them prejudices against Christianity that are too strong and too plausible to be easily removed. The Jews abhor idolatry, and every thing that borders upon it, and in Popish countries they have no notion of any other Christianity than what is there professed, and what they see before their eyes.

The Jews who dwell in Protestant countries have not the same causes to dislike Christianity, which appears with more simplicity, which offers itself fairly to examination, which is purged from  
super-

superstitious practices, and which forces it self upon no one with imperious insolence. But even in the Reformed Nations too many obstacles remain to prevent and discourage the conversion of that people; such as arise from the little influence which the Gospel is observed to have upon the lives and manners of many of its professors; from the disunion of Christians, and their division and subdivision into various sects, which usually entertain no favourable opinion of each other.

If I should embrace Christianity, a Jew might say, I have just begun the laborious inquiry: it remains to consider to whom I should join my self, and here I am quite perplexed with your divisions.

If I should go over to the Church of Rome, the Protestants will condemn my judgment, and say that I have made a miserable choice; if I become a Protestant, the Papists will tell me I might as well have remained a Jew; Schismatics and Heretics are in their opinion in

436 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

as bad a situation, and as much excluded from salvation as Jews, Mohammedans, Deists, Sceptics and Atheists ; If I am a Protestant of this or that denomination, other sects of Protestants will blame me, and think me still in a dangerous condition, and perhaps call me a Schismatic.

Thus some Jews have reasoned; and that we may not be thought to have furnished them with objections which we cannot answer, let us offer a short reply. It might then be said to the Jew ; Search the Scriptures, and examine our arguments, and if they convince you, receive the Gospel, and believe in Christ. You are then his subject and his servant ; for it is not your belonging to this or that Church, that makes you a Christian, but your belief that Jesus is the Son of God, and the Messiah. The rest you may do at your leisure, and it is not so laborious a task as you suspect. Only consider what the Church of Rome, and what the Protestant Churches require of you,  
and



and judge which is the most reasonable, and the most conformable to the New Testament. The Church of England, in her form of *Baptism of those of riper years*, requires of you only an assent to the Christian Religion in general, and to the Apostles Creed in particular.

Another impediment to the conversion of the Jews is that in the Christian world there is much indifference and coldness towards religion, much dissoluteness of manners and dishonesty; that amongst us many Sceptics, Deists and Infidels are also to be found, who have deserted the faith in which they were educated. We may suppose, without any breach of charity, that in these respects the Jews are not better than the Christians, nor free from the same faults; that they have their doubters, and their unbelievers, besides those who mind nothing except the cares and concerns and vanities and diversions of this world, that they and we go, *one to his farm, and another to his merchandize*, whilst the Prophets are little regarded

by the Jew, and the Apostles by the Christian.

Another great and well known difficulty in the conversion of the Jews (as also of the Mohammedans) is the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which they have always been taught to look upon as not reconcileable with the unity of God. All that I shall say to this, is, that no one should attempt to remove this prejudice, and to satisfy them upon this subject, till he has brought them to believe the divine mission of Jesus Christ, and his character as Prophet, Messias, Teacher of truth, and Worker of miracles. If they will not admit the things relating to his offices and ministry, it would be a vain and useless undertaking to debate with them about the dignity of his nature. And when it is necessary to proceed to that part of Christianity, this doctrine should be represented even as it is delivered in the New Testament, and no otherwise: and then many things may be observed concerning the Λόγος, the

the *Angel of God's presence*, and the *Angel of the Covenant*, from the Old Testament, and from Philo, and from some ancient Jewish writers. It will also be well worth the while to consider how the Oldest Christian Apologist now extant hath reasoned with the Jews upon this subject, as also how Limborch managed that part of the controversy with Orobius. What right hath a modern Controvertist to require more from a Jew, than Justin Martyr required from Trypho? I might say, than the Apostles and first Preachers required from those whom they converted, when they admitted them to baptism? *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest (be baptized.) And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. — And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.*

*Hic autem ita me gessi, ut nullius peculiaris inter Christianos controversi dog-*  
E e 4 *matis,*

*matic, sed solius Evangelii patrocinium  
 susceperim: secutus judicium viri summi  
 et Religionis Christianæ patroni ac vin-  
 dicis omnium calculo prudentissimi ac stre-  
 nuissimi, Hugonis Grotii, qui in aureo suo  
 et nunquam satis laudato De veritate Re-  
 ligionis Christianæ tractatu, non tantum  
 eandem disputandi rationem observavit;  
 sed et in epistola quadam ad Gerardum  
 Joannem Vossium hanc instituti sui ratio-  
 nem reddit: Triados probationem in eo  
 libro directe aggressus non sum, memor  
 ejus quod a viro magno focero tuo audi-  
 veram, peccasse Plessæum et alios, quod  
 rationibus a natura petitis, et Platonis,  
 sæpe non apposis, testimoniis, adstruere  
 voluissent rem non ponendam in illa  
 cum Atheis, Paganis, Judæis, Mahu-  
 methistis disputatione, qui omnes ad sa-  
 cras Literas ducendi sunt, ut inde talia  
 hauriant, quæ nisi Deo semet patefaciente  
 cognosci nequeunt. Hinc quotiescunque  
 Judæus ad dogmata quibusdam Christianis  
 peculiaris, qualia plura in ipsius scripto  
 occurrunt, me pertrahere conatus est, ego  
 studiose*



*studiose id declinavi; ratus, contra hominem Novi Testamenti auctoritatem negantem frustra disputari de dogmatibus alibi aut non, aut saltem non clare revelatis, quorum proinde fides divinam Novi Testamenti auctoritatem præsupponit: ac proinde sufficere, ut contra Judæum sola Evangelii divinitas adstruatur, de qua siquis argumentorum pondere convictus sit, eadem opera omnium quæ Evangelium tradit dogmatum veritas ac divinitas ipsi comprobata erit: quâ semel comprobatâ, ipse porro attenta adhibita Novi Testamenti lectione, omnibusque in timore Domini legitime examinatis, dijudicare poterit, quid de dogmatibus inter Christianos controversis consentaneæ veritati in Novo Testamento traditæ statuendum sit. Limborch. Præfat.*

*Tandem concludit vir Doctus, quod Propheta, qui in seipsum ut verum Deum Israelis fidem exegerit, qui Dei omnipotentiam sibi arrogaverit, qui verba sua ut a se præcepta, populo indixerit, admittere non debet; et dato impossibili, quod*

442 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

quod Messias, quem Judæi expectant, eam doctrinam Israelem edoceret, jure foret ut pseudopropheta lapidandus. *Sed ego jam isti illationi occurri, quod Jesus Christus semper se Patris legatum et filium prædicet, et in se, ut talem, fidem exigat. Neque ulterius quicquam, ut necessario credendum, Evangelium exigit. Si qui plura ad salutem creditu necessaria decrevere, eorum decretis non teneor, qui solam Scripturam sacram unicam fidei meæ regulam agnosco. Ex illa itaque vir doctissimus, ut aliquoties monui, contra me argumentari debet: non ex doctrinis, de quibus inter Christianas disputatur, et quarum fidem Scriptura nusquam sub amittendæ salutis pœna exigit.* Respons. p. 296.

As miracles were the great instrument to convert the Jews and Gentiles in the Apostolical age, so the absence of them at present must needs be a disadvantage as far as the propagation of Christianity is concerned.

The Jews will say, If the miracles recorded in your sacred Books were really wrought, our ancestors were inexcusable in rejecting Christianity; but these are transactions of remote antiquity, and we cannot be charged at present with resisting such evidence. If it should please God to enable you to shew us the like wonders, you should find us more compliant. In the mean time we chuse to adhere to a religion, which you, as well as we, hold to have been of divine original. These arguments are not conclusive, but as they are not destitute of a plausible appearance, prejudiced persons will not easily give them up.

Thus the conversion of the Jews seems to be removed to a distant day: but the Scriptures, as we observed, give us reasons to expect it, and this expectation is much confirmed by the wonderful preservation of that people.

If therefore there be a time in the Decrees of Providence, when many who sit in darkness shall be enlightened, when  
the

the Everlasting Gospel shall be more generally known and received, and the Jews shall be called to partake of this blessing, it is to be supposed that the present obstructions to it will be removed, and in particular those which arise from Popery. Popery is the most degenerate form of Christianity that can be conceived, and lays an heavier yoke upon the necks of Christians, than the Scribes and the Pharisees ever imposed upon the Jews. It is a Religion which can never make its way but by cruelty and tyranny, by gibets and Inquisitions, nor be supported but by self interest and ignorance; and yet as it is received by many great and polite, learned and flourishing nations, it seems at present secure from ruin. But the smaller hope, and the remoter prospect there is of the extinction of this tyranny, the more remarkable and the more providential will the downfall of it appear to all the World, if ever it happens, and strike Jews and Mohammedans and Gentiles with amazement, and prepare the way for their conversion.

The



The next step towards the increase of Christ's kingdom must be a farther improvement of Christianity, and of those who receive and profess it. The Church of Rome is not the only Church that wants amendment. Other Christian societies which have separated themselves from her and from her grosser defects, are departed more or less from the original simplicity of the Gospel, and have mixed some doctrines of men with the word of God, and so stand in need of some improvement.

It is therefore to be hoped that a time will come when Religion will have a fairer and a more alluring aspect, when Christians will be united, not in opinion as to all Theological points, for that is impossible whilst men are men, but that they will be united in benevolence and charity, in intercommunion, and in one *common and simple profession of faith*; that their manners will be suitable to their profession, and that they will be more peaceable, more virtuous, and more pious;  
and

446 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

and then the external impediments to the conversion of unbelievers will in no small measure be removed. These are amendments which seem, besides human efforts, to require such a concurrence of favourable circumstances as scarcely ever meet and are united, together with supernatural aids, and an effusion of divine gifts and graces. Therefore, it may be said, such a change, such a regeneration of mankind is not to be expected. And yet strange things have been accomplished. Who that had seen the dreadful destruction of Jerusalem could have thought that the Jewish nation, so enfeebled, so dispersed, so abhorred, and so oppressed in all places, would have subsisted for seventeen hundred ages? Who that had beheld the beginnings of Christianity, and the difficulties which it had to encounter would have imagined that it should spread through the known World? Who that had seen a poor Monk set his face against Popes, and Emperors, would have believed that the preaching of Luther should have brought about a Reformation,

formation, and the establishment of the Protestant Religion?

Nothing is too hard for Omnipotence: great and glorious changes, even a *New Earth wherein dwelleth righteousness*, may be produced by instruments and by methods of which we are now ignorant; and which it is vain to seek out by conjectures. These *secret things* belong to the Lord our God, and to him we must leave them. Our duty is to do all that lies in our power towards increasing his dominion, by studying to understand his Gospel, by a sober care and concern to live suitably to its holy precepts, and by not only wishing and praying, but endeavouring that his kingdom may come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

IN THIS *third Volume*, the *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History* are brought down to the death of Constantine, to the year 337. And here the Author begs leave

448 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

leave to detain the Readers, in two or three pages, with a subject, which though it may seem only to concern himself, yet he cannot well pass over in silence.

When he had the favour of being appointed to preach *Boyle's Lectures*, he drew up a plan for his Discourses, under these four heads ;

I. Remarks on the being and perfections of God, and particularly, on his impartiality, and his goodness.

II. The nature, use, and intent of Prophecy, together with an examination of some predictions in the Old and in the New Testament.

III. Considerations on Miracles in general, on the miracles of Christ and his Apostles, and on the support which they give to the Christian Religion.

IV. The Law of Moses and the Jewish Religion set in a proper light, and defended from some objections ancient and modern.



The substance of his Discourses, upon the *second* and the *third* head, is inserted in these *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*.

The noble and prudent *Donation* of our *Christian Philosopher* hath had suitable effects, and hath produced a *Printed Collection* of *Religious Lectures*, which in the main, may be called learned and judicious, though they are not all of equal value.

The subject is copious; but a succession of Hands will at length exhaust the most copious Theme, and unavoidably occasion a repetition of the same thoughts and arguments, somewhat diversified in method and in style.

This, and the present cool demand for printed Sermons, may induce the Lecturers to content themselves with preaching, and to abstain from publishing.

But yet, if this fashion should obtain, there may be reason to fear that, in process of time, Mr. Boyle's will have the same fate (though they deserve a

better) with some other *Lectures*, and become mere *Wall-Lectures*, and Discourses calculated to exist for half an hour.

Between the two methods of publishing *All* or *None*, there seems to be a third, by which the Discourses being stripped of every thing popular, trite, and redundant, may be thrown into the more learned and the more contracted form of *Dissertation*. This is the method which the Author hath attempted, and which he takes the liberty to mention: not pretending in the least to dictate, and to prescribe laws, or even to offer advice to his successors; but only to make an apology for his own conduct, and to inform the Public, which hath a right to ask and to know, how he hath endeavoured to execute a trust of a public nature committed to his care.

## APPENDIX.



# APPENDIX.

## Eusebii Præparatio Evangelica.



THE *Præparatio* and the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius are, like the rest of his works, useful and valuable treatises, and deserve a better edition, especially the former, in which are preserved many curious fragments of ancient writers. It is, says Fabricius, *collectio pulcherrima argumentorum, variorumque notatu dignissimorum monumentorum ac testimoniorum ex scriptoribus externis magnam partem hodie deperditis, qua animus lectoris præparetur ad demonstrationes de veritate Evangelii Christi ex sacris literis tanto facilius imbibendas admittendasque.*

## III. 14.

*Mercury* says;

“Ὅς δ’ ἐγὼ, ὃν καλέεις, Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαιάδος  
ἕως,

Ἑρμῆς προέβηκα, λιπὼν ἀστράϊον ἀνακτα.

*Mercurius, quem voce vocas, Maiæque  
Jovisque*

*Filius huc veni, cælesti rege relicto.*

*Vigerus* reads Ἑρμῆς ἔς — Perhaps :

“ὩΔ’ ἐγὼ, ὃν καλέεις, Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαιάδος  
ἕως,

ἙΡΜΕΙΑΣ προέβηκα——

Observe that in these Oracles the Gods themselves are supposed to speak.

## V. 7.

An Oracle of *Apollo Didymæus* begins thus:

Μητέρι μὲν μακάρων μέλεται Τιτύνιδι Πείη  
Ἄυλοϊ, καὶ τυμπάνων πάταγοι, καὶ Θῆλυς  
ἑμιλ.

*Rhea*



*Rhea beatorum mater reginaque Divûm  
Fæmineos cætus, buxum, et vocalia trac-  
tat*

*Tympana.*

Apollo stole this from the Hymn in  
*Matrem Deorum* which is called Homer's :

Ἡ, κροτάλων, τυπάνων τ' ἰαχῇ, σὺν τε τρέ-  
μος αὐλῶν

Ἑυαδεν.

*Cui crotalorum, tympanorumque sonus,  
simulque strepitus tibiæ  
Placuit.*

In the Oracle we ought to read, not  
*τυμπάνων* with a vowel made short before  
*μπ*, but *τυπάνων*, as in the *Hymn* to Cy-  
bele, *τυπάνων τ' ἰαχῇ*, with Barnes and  
others. So in the *Atys* of Catullus 8.

*Niveis citata cepit manibus leve typanum,*

*Typanum tubam Cybelles, tua, Ma-  
ter, initia.*

Apollonius *Arg. i.*

Ῥόμῳ κὲ ΤΥΠΑΝΩ, Ρείην Φρύγες ἰλάσ-  
κονται.

The rule is this; When a vowel is made short before two consonants, those consonants must be such as can begin a syllable, as *κν-κν*Ⓢ, etc. If any poets have violated this rule, of which there are some instances, it is a fault in them, and no examples can justify it.

Θῆλυς ὄμιλⓈ, in the Oracle, which Vigerus renders *cætus fæmineus*, is *grex semivirorum*, the Galli, the castrated priests or servants of Cybele, who were vagabonds, thieves, beggars, and most infamous wretches. The Priests of Isis etc. used to carry their Deities about to ask alms; upon which Tertullian says very prettily, that the Christians could not afford to relieve begging men and begging Gods too: *Non enim sufficimus et hominibus, et Diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre.* Apol. 42.

Van Dale would distinguish between the *Galli*, and the *Priests* of this Goddess; and supposes the *Galli* to have been raskals of a lower rank.

V. 8

An Oracle of *Hecate* :

Ἡέριον μετὰ \* Φέγγος ἀπείριτον, ἀστεροπληθές,  
Ἄχραντον πολὺ δῶμα θεῶ λίπον· ἡ δ' ἐπι-  
βαίνω

Γαίης ζωοτρόφοιο, τεῆς ὑποθημοσύνησι,  
Πειθοῖ τ' ἀρρήτων ἐπέων, οἷς δὴ φρένα τέρπει  
Ἀθανάτων ἀδαῇ θνητὸς βροτὸς.

*Aëriam lucem, et magni stellantia cæli  
Culmina, divinos linquo sanctosque pe-  
nates,*

*Telluremque peto, quo me tua dicta voca-  
runt,*

*Visque arcana precum traxit, queis Nu-  
mina linguæ*

*Mortali mulcere datur.*

Perhaps it should be thus :

Ἡέριον ΚΑΤΑ Φέγγος ἀπείριτον, ἀστερο-  
πληθές,

\* Quid si μέγα Φέγγος --- says a Friend of mine.

Ἀχράνιον πολὺ δῶμα ΘΕΩΝ λίπον, ἡδ' ἐπιβαίνω

Γαίης ζωοτρόφοιο, τεῦσ' ὑποθημοσύνησι,

Πειθοῖ τ' ἄρρήτων ἐπέων, οἷς δὴ φρένα ΤΕΡ-  
ΠΕΙΝ

Ἀθανάτων ΕΔΑΗ θνητὸς βροτός.

Vigerus corrects κατὰ and τέρπειν. The rest is mine, Θεῶν for Θεῶ, ἡδ' for ἡ δ', ἐδάη novit for ἄδαη. Vigerus conjectures ἑαδε placuit, which is wrong, and makes a barbarism in the construction. It should be translated :

— *queis pectora Divum*  
*Mortalis mulcere potest.*

# V. 23.

Oenomaus complains that when he himself consulted Apollo on some very important affair, and desired his direction, he received this impertinent answer ; Εκτανυστρόφοιο λάας σφενδόνης ιεὺς ἀνὴρ, χῆνας ἐνάριζε βελαῖσιν ἀσπέτραις, ποιητόρῃς. Gyrovagâ lapides fundâ excutiens, anseres prudenter interfice immensos, herbivoros.

There



There is no occasion to make Apollo talk more foolishly than he did ; therefore we will try to mend his discourse a little. Vigerus, the Editor of Eusebius, did not perceive that these were Trochaics, and that instead of βελαῖσιν, *consiliis*, it should be βολαῖσιν, *iectibus*.

Ἐκ τανυσρόφοιο λάας σφενδόνης ἰεῖς, ἀνὴρ,  
Χῆνας ἐνάριζε βολαῖσιν ἀπαέτης, ποιητόρης.

Ἐνάριζε. For the sake of metre, we may read ἐναρίζε, from ἐναρίζομαι, or ἐνάριστον, from ἐναρίζω, or, which is better, ἐναρίζειν, *interficere*, by way of *ellipsis*, with *incipere*, *conare*, or some such verb understood. By this most ridiculous Oracle, Oenomaus was advised to *go and kill geese, by flinging stones at them out of a sling*.

By a certain anomaly and irregularity, the Greeks sometimes put the *infinitive* for the *imperative*. *Alia est phrasis, apud Græcos usitatissima, cujus exemplum est apud Herodotum iv. c. 163, ubi infinitivus est loco imperativi: σὺ μὲν τοι ἥσυχῃ εἶναι καλεσθὼν εἰς τὴν σιωπῆν, ad verbum, tu quidem*

I

dem quietus esse redux in patriam. *Sic et apud Homerum, Il. i. 255.*

σὺ δὲ μεγάλητορα θυμὸν

ἴχειν ἐν στήθεσσι.

Tu magnanimum animum habere in pectore. *Vide et vers. 281. Non potest subaudiri δὲ oportet, quod alioqui subaudiri in ea phrasi solet, quia antecessit σὺ tu. Ne dixeris etiam subaudiendum μέμνησο memento; nam apud Hesiodum in hoc versu, ubi hæc ipsa est loquutio, verbum hoc intelligi nequit, Oper. et Dier. 616.*

ἀρότῃ μεμνημένη εἶναι

Ὠραίῃ.

Memor esse arationis tempestivæ, *nemo enim dixerit memento memor esse. Vide vers. 623. et 641. Clericus Art. Crit. T. i. p. 252.*

But I believe that Le Clerc is a little mistaken, and that all these *anomalies* of the Greek language are *elliptical* forms of speech, and capable of being supplied one way or other; and in Hesiod, though  
you

you cannot say, *remember to remember*, μέμνησο μεμνημένῳ εἶναι, yet you may say, *take care to remember*, φυλάττω μεμνημένῳ εἶναι.

As we are upon the subject of *Oracles*, I shall produce two from *Socrates* the historian, which want emendation. H. E. iii. 23. p. 204.

1. The Rhodians, being under some calamity, and consulting an Oracle, received this answer:

Ἀτλιν ἱλάσκεισθαι, θεὸν μέγαν, ἄγνόν Ἀδωνιν,  
Εὐεῖον, ὀλβιόδωρον, εὐπλόκαμον Διόνυσον.

*Attin Deum magnum placate, purum  
Adonim,*

*Bonæ vitæ et felicitatis largitorem, pul-  
chra coma præditum Bacchum.*

I wonder how Valesius could let such lines pass uncorrected. This *Atys* is so differently spelt and declined, that we cannot determine whether it should be Ἀγην, or Ἀτλιν, or Ἀτλῖν, or Ἀγυν or Ἀτλυν, or something else. We may read,

Ἀγην

Ἄλῃν ἸΛΑΣΚΕΣΘΕ, Θεὸν μέγαν, αἶγρόν  
Ἄδωνιν.

2. The *Delphic Oracle*, in complaisance to Alexander the Great, made him a God.

Ζῆνα Θεῶν ὑπάλον, καὶ Ἀθηναῖν Τριτογένειαν  
Τιμᾶτε βροτέων ἐν σώματι κρυπλὸν ἀνακτα,  
Ὅν Ζῶς ἀρίστῃς γοναῖς ἔσπειρεν ἀρωγὸν  
Εὐνομίης θνητοῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλῆα.

*Jovem Deum summum et Minervam  
Tritogeniam*

*Colite in mortali corpore absconditum re-  
gem,*

*Quem felici satū genuit Jupiter, vin-  
dicem*

*Justitiæ mortalibus Alexandrum regem.*

Worship, said the Priests, Jupiter, and his daughter Minerva, and his son Alexander. It should be,

Ζῆνα Θεῶν ὑπάλον, καὶ Ἀθηναῖν Τριτογένειαν  
Τιμᾶτε, ΒΡΟΤΕΩ. Τ' ἐν σώματι κρυπλὸν  
ἀνακτα,

Ὅν



Ὁν ΖΩς APPHTOΙΣΙ γοναῖς ἔσπειρεν —  
~~ἀρρήτοις~~ is the emendation of Valesius.

## IX.

In this book, Eusebius hath inserted several lines of a miserable Jewish bard, called *Ezechiel Tragicus*, which deserved not the honour of being transcribed. Clemens Alexandrinus hath also regaled his readers with some of them. *Strom.* i. p. 414. and Fabricius gives an account of this Ezechiel, *Bibl. Gr.* i. p. 679. His verses are very faulty, either through his own ignorance and stupidity, or from injuries done to him by the Librarians.

Many of the lines might easily be mended; but upon such an author the labour would be ill bestowed. *In scowering an ass's head, says somebody, nothing is lost, except soap and pains.* But soap and pains are too good to be thrown away.

*Gentianus Hervetus* thought him an elegant poet: *De La Monnoye*, a man of better

better taste, speaks of him with the contempt which he deserves, and supposes that he wrote in the first or second century. *Huetius* places him an hundred years at least before Christ. It is no great matter when he lived: but I should imagine him to be at least an hundred years older than *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who cites him, and who flourished towards the end of the second century. See *Baillet Jug. des Savans*, T. iv. p.

## X. 10.

---- καλακλυσμοί τε, ἢ ἐκπυρώσεις, Προμηθεύς, Ἰὼ, Εὐρώπη, \* Σπαρῶι, Κόρης ἀρπαγὴ ---- *diluvia, incendia, Prometheus, Io, Europa, \* Proserpinæ raptus*----

They are the words of Africanus, who is speaking of the Greek Mythology. Σπαρῶι. *Supplendum credo, vel ὀδόντης, vel σφαλιῶται, vel aliquid simile. Omnino enim post Europam, de Cadmo, Cadmique militibus ex Draconis dentibus repente satis, locutus videtur.*

So Vigerus, who saw the meaning of the place, but was mistaken in thinking that it wanted emendation ; for the soldiers who sprang from the Dragon's teeth, are called Σπαρῖοι by the Greeks, and *Sparti* by the Latins. See Hyginus *Fab.* 178. and Munker.

# XI. 31.

Eusebius, and the Fathers in general, were of opinion that Plato borrowed several things from Moses and the Prophets ; but the proofs which they produce are usually by no means conclusive and satisfactory.

He says here, Τῆς Ἑβραίων γραφῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ δημιουργημάτων ἐπιφωνήσης, Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτι καλόν· ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ πάντων συγκεφαλαίωσει φασκῆσης, Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα, ἢ ἰδὲ, καλὰ λίαν. Ἄκουε τῆς Πλάτωνος λέγοντος, Ἐμὲ δὲ καλὸς ἐστιν ὁδε ὁ κόσμος, ὅ,τε δημιουργὸς αἰσθητός, δῆλον ὡς πρὸς τὸ αἰδῖον ἔβλεπε. Καὶ πάλιν, Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστος τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δ' ἄριστος αἰτίων. Quum etiam, ut quodque perfectum erat divinum opus, hanc

hanc sacræ Literæ clausulam identidem adjecerint, *Et vidit Deus quod bonum esset* : itemque ut simul omnia comprehenderent, *Et vidit Deus omnia, et ecce valde bona erant* : Platonem audi sic loquentem, *Atqui si bonus est hic Mundus, si bonus ejusdem Artifex, profecto speciem æternitatis imitari maluit. Atque iterum, Nam uti Mundus omnium quæ condita sunt optimus est, ita Deus Artificum omnium optimus.*

Surely a Pagan Philosopher might say that the World was

*The fairest Offspring of the fairest Mind,*  
without having seen the Books of Moses. Eusebius might have produced a passage more remarkable, and more to his purpose from Plato's *Timæus*, p. 37. where it is said, that when God saw the world, which he had made, begin to live and move, he was greatly pleased. Ὡς δὲ κινήθην τε αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶν ἐνενόησε τῶν αἰδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα ὁ γεννήσας Παῖς, ἡγάθη τε καὶ εὐφραυνθεὶς. — *Postquam igitur uni-*  
versæ



*versi Pater atque progenitor opus illud a se creatum animadvertisset et moveri et vivum esse, Deorum immortalium, natum tamen atque creatum simulacrum, mirum in modum gavisus est atque oblectatus illo suo opere.* To which we may add the fable of Jupiter, mentioned by some Mythologist, that when he was born, he laughed for seven days together.

Socrates, in the *Phædo*, relates *μῦθον καλόν*, an elegant history, concerning an Earth altogether resplendent and beautiful, adorned with the brightest colours, whose rocks and solid parts were all pretious stones, and exhibited *σάρδια τε ἡ ἰάσπιδας ἡ σμαράγδεις*—

Eusebius might have also compared this narrative with *Isaiab liv. --- I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and thy foundations with sapphires, and will make thy gates of carbuncles : etc.*

Ezekiel xxviii. *In Eden the garden of God, every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz and diamond, the sapphire, the jasper etc.*

Whence *Tobit* says, xiii. that Jerusalem should be built with *sapphires, emeralds, precious stones*, etc. and St. John, *Rev.* xxi. saw her descend from heaven, thus adorned with every precious stone.

And yet I would not venture to affirm that Plato was acquainted with the Scriptures, but leave it as moot point.

## XV. 22.

We have here a Dissertation of *Plotinus*, in which that Philosopher proves very well that the soul is an immaterial, simple, indivisible substance.

## XV. 62.

After an account of the various disagreeing opinions of the learned Pagans, Eusebius concludes with some lines of *Timon Phliasis*, who wrote Satyrs called *Silli*, in which he ridiculed the vain and violent contentions of the Philosophers. These Poems were a species of the *Burlesque*, and consisted of verses taken from  
Homer,

Homer, and, with small alterations, accommodated and applied to the subject.

Τίς γὰρ τῆςδ' ὀλοῇ ἔρδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι ;  
 Ηχῆς σύνδρομος ὄχλος· ὁ γὰρ σιωπῶσι χολω-  
 θείς,  
 Νῆσσαν ἐπ' ἀνέρας ὤρσε λάλην, ὀλέκοντο δὲ  
 πολλοί.

\*

Φοῖβ' δὲ βροτολογὸς Ἑρμὲς κενὸν λελακῆα,  
 Νείκης ἀνδροφόνου κασιγνήτη καὶ ἔρμιος,  
 Ἥ τ' ἀλαῇ περὶ πάντα κυλινδεῖται· αὐτὰρ  
 ἔπειτα  
 Ἑς Θρίθος ἐσῆρξε κάρη, καὶ ἐς ἐλπίδα βάλλει.

*Ecquis eos diro pugnae inflammavit amore?  
 Concurrrens linguæ fremitus : namque ille  
 silentum*

*Impatiens, morbi contagia fæda loquacis  
 Immisit : sævo multi periere veneno.*

\*

*Dira lues hominum, Contentio, vanaque  
 jactans,  
 Mortiferique soror Belli, Pugnaeque mi-  
 nistra,*

*Invadit, cæcoque diu rapta impete, tandem*

*Confirmat gravitate caput, spemque ob-  
jicit ultro.*

These verses are also to be found in Clemens Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 651. with some variation.

v. 2. The first and second syllables of *σιωπῶσι* coalesce. In Clemens *σιγῶσι*.

4. Φοῖλᾱ. Perhaps Φοίτα. But the present tense may be right.

κενὸν. Read *κενεὸν* from Clemens.

λελακῆα, with the second syllable short. Hesiod has

Δαιμονίη, τίλέλακας; —

with the second syllable long. *Oper.* E D. 207.

5. ἔρως. in Clemens ἔριδος. At least, it should be ἔρισος. But this, though it mends the verse, will not mend the bad sense; for how can Ἐρις be the sister of herself? Perhaps,



Νείκης ἀνδροφόνου κασιγνήτη, ἡ ἐταίρη.

As in Homer, *Il.* Δ. 441.

Ἀρεος ἀνδροφόνου κασιγνήτη, ἐταίρη τε.

If the rest was like this specimen, the loss of it is not to be regretted. In this sort of wit, in *parodies*, the Moderns have infinitely surpassed the Ancients, who have, I think, only *one* ingenious Poem of this kind; but that Poem hath a fault which spoils all its beauties, and is scandalously obscene. It is no matter whose it is, or where it is to be found.

---

## A D D E N D A, etc.

**P**Age 57. A. D. 736. read A.D. 787.

P. 100. l. 18. Instead of, *which is still maintained --- against it.* Read, *I call it spurious, since so much may be urged against it, and so little for it.*

Page 122. l. 6. *Building Devil.* Read, *Building Spirit.*

Page

Page 168. l. 5. *and many learned etc.*  
 Read: *and some Christians, perhaps, adopted it. But Origen proposed it rather as a philosophical problem, than as a doctrine.*

Page 206. l. 16. Instead of, *Cyril's Confession of faith --- his credit.* Read: *Cyril's Confession of faith (or his Anathematisms) was injudicious, obscure, uncharitable, and, I think, not reconcileable with the holy Scriptures. Anathematismi ejus, si verum volumus, et obscuri sunt, et doctrinæ Nestorii peregrini. Eorum et nonnulli, primâ quidem specie, pietatem non redolent. S. Basnage. Ann. III. 337.*

Page 207. l. 2. Instead of: *But they might --- ideas.* Read: *But the Nestorian controversy was so perplexed on both sides; and involved in so many and so great difficulties, that the Contenders should have agreed in pardoning and tolerating each other.*

*Just published, the third Edition, corrected,  
(Price 4 s. bound)*

# DISCOURSES

Concerning the  
Truth of the Christian RELIGION.

In seven DISSERTATIONS on the  
following subjects.

I.

The Prejudices of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

II.

The Propagation of the Gospel.

III.

The Kingdom of CHRIST.

IV.

The fitness of Time when CHRIST came into  
the World.

V.

The Testimony of *John the Baptist*.

VI.

The Scriptures of the New Testament.

VII.

The Gospel, as it is Grace and Truth.

By JOHN JORTIN.

L O N D O N.

Printed for JOHN WHISTON, and BENJ. WHITE,  
*in Fleet-street.*

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND  
(1711 & 1712)

# DISCOURSES

Concerning the

Religion of the Christian Religion.

By JOHN TOTTEN.

I.

Of the Christian Religion.

II.

Of the Christian Religion.

III.

Of the Christian Religion.

IV.

Of the Christian Religion.

V.

Of the Christian Religion.

VI.

Of the Christian Religion.

VII.

Of the Christian Religion.

BY JOHN TOTTEN.

LONDON.

Printed by J. B. Smith, in the Strand, 1711.





DISCOURSES

Containing the

History of the Christian Religion.

By John Wesley, A.M.

I.

The Christian Religion, as it is

II.

taught in the Bible.

III.

The Christian Religion, as it is

IV.

taught in the Bible.

V.

The Christian Religion, as it is

VI.

taught in the Bible.

VII.

The Christian Religion, as it is

VIII.

taught in the Bible.

IX.

The Christian Religion, as it is

X.

taught in the Bible.

XI.

The Christian Religion, as it is







BR            Jortin, John  
143            Remarks on ecclesiastical  
J6             history  
v.3

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---





